MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY

OF

POPE ALEXANDER VI

MATERIAL

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Pope Alexander VI

HIS RELATIVES AND HIS TIME

BY RIGHT REVEREND MSGR.

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VOLUME IV

Pope Alexander VI as a Temporal Prince

BRUGES
DESCLÉE, DE BROUWER AND C°
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INTRODUCTION

The preceding volume offers abundant proof of the extraordinary activity of pope Alexander VI in the administration of the Catholic Church. His apostolic labors alone would be sufficient to fill a reign longer than his has been; yet, the works which he performed, as a Pope, are but the half of what he accomplished during the eleven years of his pontificate. During that time he also fulfilled many and difficult duties regarding the defence of Christianity against the incursions of the cruel Turks, and the government of the Pontifical States, the temporal princes of which the Popes had become many centuries before.

Lawrence Valla is said to have demonstrated that the famous Donation of emperor Constantine to pope Sylvester is apocryphal, but the retirement of that emperor from Rome to Constantinople was, not a formal, but a practical donation of authority to that Pontiff and his successors, who enjoyed the respect and confidence of the people, because of the holiness of their lives and the wisdom of their direction. They did not seek any temporal power, but remained loyal friends of the successors of Constantine, until Leo the Isaurian tried to introduce into Italy the heresy and ravages of the Iconoclasts. Pope Gregory III protested and then took up arms against the violent monarch ; and the Pope was, by dint of circumstances, at the head of a federation of Italian cities, that effectually opposed the Byzantine emperor.

About the same time, A. D. 732, the Lombard king, Luitprand, lay siege to Rome, and pope Gregory, unable to receive any help from Constantinople, had recourse to Charles Martel of France, and Luitprand abandoned the siege. Further attacks of the Lombards brought into Italy

the French kings, Pepin, and, finally, Charles-the-Great, who divided, in the year 774, the kingdom of Desiderius between himself and pope Adrian I, who had begged his assistance for the protection of central Italy.

The new Sovereigns, the Popes, left the greater part of the civil administration in the hands of the people of Rome, where, each year, were created two consuls from among the nobility, together with a Prefect and twelve counsellors, who appointed the loyal governors of the papal territory. This liberal system of government degenerated, however, in the course of time, while some of the noble and powerful houses strove for the mastery, not only over their competitors for office, but even over their legitimate Lords, the Pontiffs, who, during the ninth and the tenth centuries, hardly retained a shadow of authority and, in some cases, became the subjects, if not the servile creatures, of the domineering Roman counts. Emperor Otto III, finally, put an end to this, the saddest period in the whole history of the Church, when, in the year 998, he caught and beheaded Crescentius or Censius, a son of the notorious Theodora and a count and Roman patrician residing at Frascati, who had set up two antipopes and put to death two or three legitimate and worthy Pontiffs.

The temporal domain of the Church was considerably increased during the following centuries. The Southern half of Tuscany was donated in the year 1014 ; in 1052, the Pope obtained the suzerainty of Benevento, and its possession at the extinction of the Normannic counts. The rights of a suzerain over the provinces of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily were secured to the Pontiffs in 1059, and their States were increased, in the year 1115, with several cities, through the last will of princess Mathilde of Tuscany. They obtained the county of Venaissin, in 1274, and bought the city of Avignon, in 1348.

Most cities of the Pontifical States and their districts were

administered, under papal supervision or rather the right of it, according to the feudal system, by local noble Lords, who paid a yearly tribute, called census, to the Sovereign, the Pope, and were to provide him with soldiers, in case of need; while a few cities chose their own counsellors and Podestás or mayors, who administered them according to laws and ordinances made at home. With the exception of an occasional war, this was a period of prosperity and happiness for the papal subjects.

During the residence of the Popes in Avignon, 1309-1376, the Lords of the Pontifical States declared themselves supreme and independent sovereigns, made war on one another and robbed and killed the inhabitants. Rome itself became a battlefield, especially for the Orsini and the Colonna, and a heap of ruins. Grass grew on its streets and cattle were pasturing on the floors of its basilicas. The illustrious cardinal Aegidius Albornóz was sent, in the year 1353, to forcibly restore the lost authority of the Pope in his States, and, through his great qualities of a captain and of a statesman, he succeeded, at the peril of his good name, in recovering the greater portion of the papal domain, and in establishing law and order again.

The cardinal had not, however, eradicated the spirit of ambition and rebellion from the minds of the Italian nobility, and we see that nearly every Pope, since that time, for more than a century, was compelled to resort to arms, in order to subdue some of his vassals, who refused him tribute and obedience, or openly aided his enemies or even assailed their suzerain himself. Such was the case with pope Alexander VI, on more than one occasion.

No historian shall pretend any longer that this great Pontiff neglected his spiritual duties to devote his time to those of a temporal prince, nor can he contest his right and obligation to preserve intact his sovereignty, the most legitimate in its

origin, the most venerable in its duration and the most liberal in its form, voluntarily reduced to a mere suzerainty. But it is not sufficiently noticed that it was his bounden duty to defend his pontifical independence, the lack of which all history has shown to lead the Supreme Pontiff and his spiritual children to thraldom or to the catacombs. Faith does not teach the necessity of the temporal power for the exercise of spiritual authority, and the Catholic Church outlives all persecutions ; yet, facts continue to prove that when a Pope is the subject of a temporal prince, his administration is exposed to suspicion, and so hampered as to become difficult and deprived of legitimate success and prosperity. A Pope who is not independent is, moreover, unable to effectually promote, as it is his wish and calling, international justice and consequent peace among Christian nations, as it is evidenced in these our days of barbarian warfare.

A great, if not the principal, motive of pope Alexander's efforts, to restore the papal authority in the Pontifical States, proceeded from his inborn love for the masses of the people, who gave him, in return, their unfaltering loyalty and affection, from the beginning of his cardinalate to the end of his life. In various cities he saw numbers of his subjects corrupted by the evil example of their Lords, he saw them despoiled and robbed by noble as well as by ignoble brigands and highwaymen, he saw their cattle stolen and their homes destroyed by rival factions of the local nobility or by petty tyrants, who were at war against one another, when not against the Pope himself. He was, therefore, fully justified in drawing the sword, not only to secure his personal rights but also the peace and happiness of his people, with whose welfare he was especially concerned. While his foreign politics were directed by strict justice, his management of internal affairs and all his acts of administration had for object the benefit and greater good of his subjects.

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182. Annual amount of the University tax or of the licenses to sell wine in Rome. 564
183. A payment for silver book locks. 565
184. Foundation and endowment of the University of Alcala de Henares. 565
185. Payment of two chains for the apostolic palace. . . . 566
186. Restoration of the castle of Sant' Angelo. 566
187. First payment for the moat of the castle of Sant' Angelo. 567
188. Payment of the new buildings of the castle of Sant' Angelo. 567
189. Compensation for buildings demolished around the castle of Sant' Angelo. 567
190. Ventura, Bishop of Massa, private treasurer of the Pope, pays to himself moneys advanced for His Holiness. . 568
191. Expropriation of mills at the Sixtine bridge. 568
192. Payments for the Fountain on St. Peter's square. . . 569

CHAPTER I.

Administration of Rome.

ARTICLE I. — RESTORATION OF ORDER.

The political and social condition of the Pontifical States was very disturbed and discouraging at the time that pope Alexander VI commenced his reign. The Sovereign was powerless to govern a people unwilling to obey [1]. The greater part of his domain was an agglomeration of small principalities exploited by usurpers, traitors and tyrants, who were devoid of all morality and self-respect, and had nothing in view but to consolidate their power and to increase and extend it. The petty princes of Romagna, Machiavelli says, corrupted their subjects instead of correcting them, and gave them ever new occasion for strife ; and the whole province was full of highway robbery, of contention and of every sort of wickedness [2]. The cities and districts more directly subject to papal administration fared hardly better ; torn, as most of them were, by local factions of two or more rich families, that bitterly contended for princely power over their native place and sought the subjection of their competitors.

Rome itself, although the seat of the government, was, on certain occasions, very insecure. Valorius, the Florentine ambassador, wrote on the 25th of July, 1492, that at the death of pope Innocent VIII, all Rome was in arms, that every man was standing guard over his belongings, and that

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1. Symonds, Renaissance, p. 412, quoting Machiavelli ; Card. F. Piccolomini ; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. K. K. fo 31e.

2. Il Principe, Cap. VII, p. 35.

many acts of vengeance took place [3]. If we can believe Infessura [4] and all following historians, more than two hundred and twenty murders were committed in the short space of a month, between the death of the former Pontiff and the election of pope Alexander VI. We have noticed already that, as soon as cardinal de Borgia appeared before the people, as the new Pope, the thieves and assassins disappeared as snow before the sun. All who could afterwards be apprehended dearly paid the price of their misdeeds [5].

Their punishment did not, however, secure the City against brigands and murderers for the time of the following pontificate. Brandolinus Lippus [6] relates several instances of crimes that were perpetrated during the Jubilee year of 1500. and Raphael of Volterra [7] gives an impassioned description of the baneful impunity of thieves and malefactors, who made it unsafe to walk in the City at night or outside of it during the light of day. In fact, no man of any consideration, not even ecclesiastics, ventured to go out unarmed. He blames the Pope for it all, in spite of the justice daily meted out to all evildoers that could be found and convicted, in spite of the terrible retribution administered in one single day to eighteen malefactors, swinging from ropes around their necks at the bridge of Sant' Angelo [8]. He ignores the fact that two of the Pope's nearest relatives were the victims of the most atrocious murders committed in Rome at the time : Alfonso, the duke of Bisceglia, Lucretia de Borgia's husband, and Giovanni de Borgia, the Pontiff's Captain general of the army. He forgets the efforts that were made to discover the authors of the crimes ; until, in the latter case especially, the

3. Burchard, Diar., vol. I, p. 573.
4. Diar., 1492.
5. Civiltà Catt. Ser. 9. Vol. VII, p. 415.
6. Römische Quartalschr. Bd. II, s. 190, from Bibl. Vatic. Urbinat., Cod. 3460, fo 16vo
7. Anthropologia.
8. Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, I, s. 232 ; Aa. Passim.

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neighboring Orsini barons were found guilty by the Pope, who could not, or, to avoid greater evil, would not attempt to bring them to justice.

These and other powerful noblemen, like the Colonna and the Savelli, whose possessions almost surrounded Rome, where they owned palaces, were those whom pope Alexander VI declared to keep the City constantly obsessed, who assailed it as often as they pleased, committed murders and robberies in it, and caused perpetual unrest among its inhabitants [9]. The suburbs of Rome and its neighborhood had long since been almost abandoned and had become a desert, in consequence of the repeated wars of the barons among themselves or against their suzerains, the Pontiffs. Even in times of peace, the City was infested by bandits of other cities and brigands, whom the Orsini and the Colonna were always ready to hire as soldiers, and to offer them a refuge and asylum, whenever their misdeeds had made them liable to punishment [10].

This protection of criminals, which the Pontiff was long unable to prevent, naturally promoted all evil passions of the Roman populace. Yet, historians have generally noticed and admired the fact that no tumult, no revolt ever took place against pope Alexander VI or his administration. Gregorovius ascribes this public peace to terrorism, caused, he says, by the spies and hangmen in the Pope's employ [11], but the contemporary Raphael of Volterra, who is the only one to speak of informers, bitterly complains of the lack of punishment, and Gregorovius well knows that terrorism may smother for a while the dissatisfaction of the governed, but invariably leads to revolution. He gave better reasons for the

9. Aeg. of Viterbo, Hist. XX. Seculor., ap. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod. C. 8, 19, f° 336.

10. Christophe, Histoire de la Papauté, t. II, p. 355 ; Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 267.

11. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 504.

loyalty of the people when he stated before [12], that pope Alexander VI proved from the beginning to be a firm and prudent administrator, to dispense strict justice, to make prompt payments. to provide for a cheap living, and to regulate the tribunals so much neglected during the government of his predecessor. Gregorovius sais very well that Rome was, consequently, quiet and contented. The Civiltà Cattolica [13] equally states that his government, always strong, vigilant and wise, procured to Rome, during the eleven years of his reign, a constant internal peace, never troubled by any popular disturbance, so frequent at other times.

The critical knight, Arnold von Harff of Cologne, here sounds a discordant, unhistorical note, when he pretends that the people hated the Pope and, but for the cardinals, would have killed him [14]. The time was badly chosen to make the unwarranted remark, for it was then about Easter, 1497, when, by the capture of Ostia, the Pontiff had just opened the Tiber again and was providing the people with an abundance of food and drink. The Romans appreciated his solicitude for their welfare. In fact, it was the Pope's enemy, Menaldo de Guerra, the rebel commander of Ostia, who had tried to starve them, whom they would fain have put to death, when he was, at the very time, brought in chains to Rome.

After his election, pope Alexander's first care was to restore public security [15]. His first act of justice was the following, as related by Infessura [16]. On the 3d of September, 1492, Salvator del Rosso, who was under bonds of five hundred ducats to keep the peace, met on Campo dei Fiore, Dominic Beneacceduto, and inflicted on him two fatal wounds. On

12. Ibid., s. 322.
13. Ser. 9, Vol. VII, p. 415.
14. Thuasne, Burch. Diar., t. II, p. 362 ; n. ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 395.
15. Burckardt, Cultur der Renaissance, Bd. I, s. 104 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 5, n.
16. Interpolation of Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 4.

the 4th, the Pope sent his " vice-camerarius, " the " Conservatores " of the City and all the people to demolish the murderer's house and to hang him ; and, the same day, he had Salvator's brother and accomplice also hanged upon the complaint of the murdered man. The bondsmen, however, were absolved from liability.

Infessura [17], Tommasi [18], and even the stupid anonymous lampoon [19] relate that, during the same month, the Pope, aware that without justice there can be no happiness, named four doctors of law, known for their integrity, as judges in Rome, to hear all complaints, especially in criminal cases.

We have noticed already how he afterwards endeavored to improve the existing tribunals and to promote the rendition of impartial justice, by forbidding, under severe penalties, all judges to accept any presents from litigating parties ; and he issued a bull by which he threatened with most severe temporal and spiritual penalties all persons of whatever, even cardinalitial or royal rank or dignity, who should, by themselves or others, prevent, by any act of violence, the parties to a lawsuit from freely defending their claims before the Roman tribunals [20].

Infessura and Tommasi [21] also report the institution by pope Alexander VI of the Commissaries of prisons, who had the right and duty to visit all houses of detention twice a month, to hear the complaints of all culprits and convicts, and to find out whether their trial was not unduly postponed or their sentence too severe. The inquests of these officials sometimes led to the removal of judges who had been influenced by bribery. It was also the Commissioners' right

17. Ibid.

18. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr. Cod. 12186 : French translation of the Life of Cesar Borgia, fe 17.

19. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, Cod. 149, fo 29vo.

20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., An. IX, X. T. LXXX, Regest. 851, fe 180.

21. Ubi supra.

to shorten the terms of old prisoners, to mitigate punishment. to liberate the best of the convicts, to conciliate their creditors, or to make arrangements by which the debtors might pay by installments, after being set free ; finally, to console and comfort them all [22]. The reform of prisons is thus older than the one of which the French and the English are boasting.

The Pope established his own self as an officer of security and peace. He made it his rule, unheard of before and since, to admit to his presence any citizen, man or woman, rich or poor, who might have complaints to make. Doubtful cases he referred for examination, but he himself corrected many a wrong in a wonderful way [23] : " Although engaged day and night with public cases ," an eyewitness says [24], " he placed himself every Tuesday at the disposal of the widows and orphans and of the common people, with so much kindness and patience as to let them speak as long as they pleased, and to let no one go away in sadness ; so great was his fairness, his gentleness and his affability. "

Porcius also testifies that he passed every Tuesday in healing the wounds of the people and preventing lesions in the future ; while he deferred his other labors to be finished during the night [25]. The bishop of Perugia, afterwards cardinal Lopez, wrote of him, on the 28th of March, 1493, to the Major-domo of the king of Spain : " You would be astonished to see how he grants his public audiences to private individuals, even to poor widows ; and with what patience and forbearance [26] ! "

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22. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 257 ; Gigli, Del Governo delle Corte, t. II, p. 6vo.

23. Infessura, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 5 : Et statuit audientiam in die martis omnibus tam maribus quam feminis, et audivit ipsemet querelas, et justitiam mirabili modo facere cepit

24. Hartman Schedel, Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 716, fe post 124.

25. Commentar. Rome Bibl. Barberin. Cod. B. B. B. I, 13 ; Cfr. Civiltà Catt. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 415.

26. Fita, Estudios Histor., t. VI p. 126.

Burchard relates an example of the familiarity with which he was treated as a judge, and of the efficacy of his sentences [27] : On the 7th of June, 1500, the Pope assisted at Mass celebrated in St. Peter's, and there came to him Bernard de Montefulco, an apostolic scriptor, who reported to him how a certain Magdalenus, a Roman citizen, had violently taken and carried off, from the church " dell' anima " of the German hospice, de Montefulco's daughter, to whom he was engaged. The Pontiff smiled, probably at the man's boldness or excitement. After divine service was over, he attended to the abduction, with the result that, on the following Saturday, before luncheon, the girl was conducted home again, riding on her father's horse, between two squadrons of men-at-arms.

By all those administrative measures he singularly improved the efficiency of the Roman tribunals, diminished the criminal element, and increased the loyalty and affection of the people towards himself [28].

Nor was the Pontiff satisfied with punishing crimes committed; he also tried to prevent the commission of evil deeds in the future. For this purpose he paid a large number of watchmen and constables. Besides his palace guard, he kept twenty-one men to watch about the bridges [29], and had a chief of police with twenty mounted crossbowmen and thirty soldiers on foot [30], besides a governor of the City, with fifty infantrymen under his command [31].

In addition to the Capitoline judges, who were to decide all civil and criminal cases, there were in Rome two justices of the peace, " pacerii, " whose special duty it was to extinguish the " vendette " and to restore friendship among the citizens.

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27. Diar., t. III, p. 60.
28. Panvinio, Vita Alexandri VI, p. 338 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad An. 1492, no. XXXI.
29. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, ad 11m Maii, 1498.
30. Ibid., ad 2m Apr. 1502.
31. Ibid., ad 16 Jul. 1502.

When we consider the number of the constabulary employed in the relatively small City, we can easily believe the statement of Brandolinus Lippus saying that Rome was a place hardly fit to live in. It is evident, however, from the following facts, that public security was greatly improved during the reign of pope Alexander VI. When he first ascended the throne, every Roman was bristling with arms day and night, when going along the streets of the City ; but, already in the year 1499, defensive weapons had generally become so unnecessary, that the Pontiff saw fit , on the 24th of May, to forbid the Roman people to go out armed any longer [32]. On the same day, he spoke to the cardinals assembled in consistory, of the removal from the people of the arms which they usually carried, and he exhorted them to see to it, that all their courtiers should henceforth abstain from taking any weapons with them. The Most Reverend Lords highly praised the intention of His Holiness and resolved that it should be done according to his wish [33]. In the year 1503, the Pontiff deprived even the players at the festivities of the carnival of the weapons which they used to carry in former years [34], and in 1504, the Governor of Rome had no difficulty in collecting, on one trip through the City, about thirty swords, which he cast into the Tiber at the bridge of Sant' Angelo [35].

What powerfully contributed to the diminution of crimes and the restoration of order in Rome, was the timely and wise revision of its municipal statutes. On the 1st of March, 1494, pope Alexander VI issued a brief to the three " Conservatores " of the City, to the presidents of its treasury, and to

32. Thuasne, Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 339, n.

33. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat. Cod. 12555 : Decreta Consist. ab Alex. VI usque ad Urb. VIII, fo 11vo ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 7, fo 11 ; Cod. XXXVI, 10, fo 50vo.

34. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 403.

35. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 339.

the Captains of its districts, to authorize the correction of former constitutions and the enactment of new ordinances for the administration of justice, principally in Rome, and incidentally in the territories that were directly subject to the papal government.

ARTICLE II. — THE ROMANS ESPECIALLY ATTENDED TO.

" Since we must take special care, " he says, " of the direction of our Mother City, whose people we dearly love as our privileged children, we desire to completely uproot and extinguish the hatred, discord and civil dissensions, called Brigues. We know that our predecessors have published many constitutions to check and prevent all brigues, gatherings of armed men, illicit acts of revenge, dire threats and protection of evildoers, wounding, incendiarism, poisoning, murder, fornication and other unspeakable crimes, often and commonly committed in this City. Their orders have been little observed, because either of their too great severity or of the carelessness of the magistrates. Taking into consideration that the grand City, which has dictated the law to the whole universe, prefers to be governed by its own ordinances rather than by those of others, and placing the greatest confidence in your prudence, We command you and give you charge to convene with the heads of the city wards and the fourteen here mentioned citizens [36] ; and We give to your assembly full power and authority to correct or change all ancient or later pontifical or communal constitutions, statutes and decrees, relating to civil or criminal cases and affecting the jurisdiction of the Senator and of the capitoline judges ; or to add to them and to explain them, as you may see fit to do, in case that you should find them to need any correction,

36. Document 148.

change, addition or interpretation. And to all such corrections and additions to be made, We, from now on, attach our authority and that of the apostolic See ; and it is our will that they should be binding forever. And We order that they should be written and inserted in the books of the ancient statutes, and be solemnly promulgated throughout the City ; that they should forever be inviolably observed by all magistrates and judges, ecclesiastic as well as lay, no matter what their jurisdiction may be ; yet so, that against Roman citizens the Senator and the capitoline judges only can proceed to execute these constitutions to be published anew, and that none other can apply them without the authority of the Governor. " [37].

To this letter the Pope added a " Motu proprio ", to determine the court by which a Roman citizen could be summoned and judged. A poor man was excused from appearing before a tribunal of the Capitol, the most expensive ; " because he could not there obtain justice against a powerful, rich antagonist " [38].

The reader will have observed that pope Alexander VI, prescribed some essential rules for the work to be done, by the very diplomas by which he instituted his legislative committee ; nor can we suppose that he exempted himself from all further cooperation in an undertaking of such importance, and to which his former studies had given him a special aptitude and inclination. To him, no doubt, is due a large share in the merits of the new laws, which, in fact, are published under his name : " Reformationes Alexandri VI. "

The print of these laws and ordinances covers forty-two

37. See Document 148.

38. Statuta et Novae Reformationes Urbis Romae, Lib. IV, f° 2.—Confusion of jurisdiction was liable to take place in a city where so many persons had a right to hold court : the several ecclesiastical judges, the regular capitoline judges, the governor of the City, the Presidents of Guilds and Confraternities, etc.

pages in quarto. We cannot but indicate a few samples of their decrees :

To suppress the negligence of judges, an hour is set for the opening of their court.

The judge is to name a tutor-at-law for any contestant minor, who has no guardian.

In cases of workmen, of poor and unfortunate persons, of charitable institutions, and in cases that admit no delay, legal formalities can be dispensed with, and the facts only must be investigated. This, moreover, can be done even outside of court and at any time, festive days not excepted.— These exceptions were made in favor of such as needed all their time and all their little money.

Intricated litigations between relatives must be decided by two umpires inside of thirty days, and if the award is not rendered within that time, the judge is to appoint a third arbitrator.

Written proofs of debts or mortgages become worthless after sixteen years.

To the benefits of bankruptcy can not be admitted gamblers, spendthrifts, deceivers and such as contract many debts, when knowing that they have become insolvent.

In cases of bankruptcy, preferred creditors are those who prove their claims with legal writings and witnesses. Due bills, stating dates and signed by two or three witnesses, come next ; while others are suspected of collusion of debtor and creditor.

The fees for notarial acts and for all other official papers are fixed.

Although the penalty of a former law was mitigated, the pain of death is inflicted upon one who should take revenge on an innocent person ; and, if the vengeance amounted to murder, all his goods are confiscated.

The leaders of unauthorized gatherings of more than ten

armed men, by day or by night, for any evil purpose, are punished with death ; and their followers, besides the penalties of their misdeeds, are to pay each fifty gold ducats and to be chastised with four strokes of the rope. Should the band be of less than ten and of more than four, the leader is to be sentenced according to the discretion of the Roman Senator, even to the effusion of blood and the mutilation of members ; and his companions are to be fined twenty-five ducats, and are to be punished, moreover, for their misdeeds committed. Should there be four only or less, they all are to be punished alike, in proportion to their crimes and their personal rank, according to former statutes.

Such as have been threatened or injured by others, or have good reasons to fear an attack can, with the permission of the Senator and the justices of the peace, keep some armed men in their houses, for the security of themselves and of the members of their families. They cannot, however, admit as armed protectors any convicts, factionists or those who refuse to give security to others ; else they shall be liable to the same penalties as are those whom they thus take for their protection; and, if those received into their houses should have been condemned to the effusion of blood or to death, they shall pay one hundred ducats.

The magistrates shall incur similar penalties if they neglect to search every month the houses of factional leaders ; and the latter shall pay one hundred ducats, if they oppose such inquest, while sheltering armed men ; and they shall die if they so refuse to admit the governor or the Senator of the City.

So also make themselves liable to heavy fines all those who harbor condemned malefactors or treat with contempt the orders of the magistrates ; even though they be Lords of cities or papal vicars.

Those who are found to carry poisonous weapons are to

be severely chastised, and further punished according to the laws against poisoning.

Counterfeiters of money shall be punished with death. If the criminals be Lords of castles, let them be arrested, if possible, and executed. If they cannot be caught, let them be sentenced and all their possessions be declared forfeited.

If one should insult children or honest women with lewd words, he shall be arrested and severely punished and, if he be a vile person, he shall be beaten with rods, detained for a month, and liberated only upon giving caution not to offend again ; and for a year he must present himself before the magistrate as often as called. Should one, for the sake of immorality, strike a child or an honest woman, or tear away their coat or bonnet, his hand shall be amputated. If one should use force to debauch or carry off a child against the will of its parents, or an honest woman, even though he should not violate her, he shall be put to death, according to the ancient statutes.

Many misdeeds are often committed by men who live in idleness, without any profession or trade, who pass most of their time in gambling, illicit games and spending money, and sometimes eating and drinking to excess, or associating with harlots and immoral men. They wear away their infamous lives without doing any good to human society. To do away with all such, who are an occasion and cause of evil deeds, the Senator and the Conservatores shall impose upon the captains of the City wards the duty of taking the census of each district ; and these officers shall closely inquire into the life, morals and trade of such individuals, investigate how they acquire their silken and woolen clothes, how they obtain their rings and other jewels, and ask how they can so lavishly spend money. Those idlers shall be admonished, and after they are warned three times, if they do not improve their mode of life nor turn to some laudable occupation, they shall

be punished with incarceration, exile and other penalties and fines, according to the discretion of the Senator, of the Conservatores and of the Justices of the peace, forever or for a length of time, as these think best.

Reconciliation with the offended party saved from the penalty of the law ; but a reconciliation obtained through threats was considered as involuntary and forced, and was of no avail to the offender.

Any one could with impunity kill robbers on frequented highways. A highwayman caught in the act of robbery was hanged. When arrested afterwards, he was tried and, if found guilty, hanged. Those who despoiled and wounded passersby on the streets of Rome during the night were, if caught, condemned to hanging. If they did not wound, but beat, their victims, they were to lose their right hand. Should they become guilty a second time, they were to be hanged.

One half of all fines and the proceeds of confiscation and sale of the possessions of condemned criminals were paid to the injured parties or to their heirs ; or, if refused, went to the public treasury. The prosecuting witnesses, through whose efforts and diligence wrongdoers were made known, received one fourth of the pecuniary fines, and the Senator and the Conservatores had a right to announce a reward for the revelation of criminals.

When a convict would not or could not pay imposed fines, the Senator or the judges were to replace them with arbitrary corporal punishment.

The most important of all the Articles of these new Statutes is, in our opinion, the XXXIII[d] of the " II[d] Book of the Reforms of Alexander VI ", treating of the " Assemblies of officials to be held for the maintenance of the laws. "

" For the better observance of these and other good and praiseworthy decrees, for the selection of other means neces-

sary to the good government and prosperity of the Holy Roman church and for the protection of the City and its inhabitants : the Conservatores shall, at least once a month, call an assembly, at which shall be present the chancellors, the Captains of the wards, the Justices of the Peace, the Thirteen and the Twenty-six counsellors, and the notary and chancellor of the Conservatores. The members absenting themselves shall be liable to fines [39]. "

Gregorovius calumniates the Popes when saying that they tyrannized the people of Rome, although he admits [40] that no lay man could be called before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and that no ecclesiastic was admitted to any civil or capitoline office. Pope Alexander VI not only allowed the Romans, twenty years old, to elect all their magistrates, but ordered all officials thus chosen to discharge their functions, for the welfare of their fellow citizens. A lover of the common classes always, he secured by this XXXIII[d] Article a pattern for our modern most advanced governments of the people, for the people, and by the people.

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39. The Senator, sometimes called the " Praetor, " of Rome was the chief Executive, had his tribunal at the Capitol, and was elected every six months.—The Conservatores were the highest magistrates after the Senator, chosen for short terms, and had many important duties to fulfill. They were to attend to the preservation of public buildings and of antiquities, to prevent monopolies, to correct and approve the constitution and by-laws of trade guilds, to supervise the import of provisions, to appoint the directors and notary of the Roman Universities, to keep in repair the city walls and aqueducts, to punish the guards of gates and bridges who would charge tolls undue, to visit the territories subject to the City, as often as called, and clear them from malefactors.—The two Justices of the Peace, " pacerii, " were elected for a year. Their main duty was to settle all public enmities and feuds ; in certain cases, together with the Governor. From their sentence there was no appeal.—The Captains of the wards, " regionum, " were, as their title implies, the chief constables of the various districts of Rome.—The thirteen and the twenty-six counsellors were elected by the ranks, artisans and guilds of the City.—All of these officials constituted the council, the " Credentia, " of old, so-called because the whole administration " credebatur, " was confided to them.

40. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 219.

To be happy under its own administration, Rome also required a sufficient supply of provisions at moderate prices Gregorovius states [41] that the Romans were loyal to pope Alexander VI, because he provided them with a cheap living. We have, indeed, noticed just now that, according to his latest reform of the City's Statutes [42], he had made it a duty of the Conservatores, to supervise the supply of grain, of flesh meats and of all necessary victuals ; and by another chapter [43] all goods and properties of merchants engaged in the importation of any kind of foodstuffs, " annona, habundantia, " were declared exempt from seizure or attachment.

The notorious Tommasi writes : However detestable may have been the continuation and the end of the reign of Alexander VI, certain it is that it had an admirable beginning ; for, not only, through his vigilant care, there arrived in Rome a quantity of grain so great that the oldest men did not remember having ever seen a more copious affluence ; but he also ordered money to be distributed through every quarter of the City, so that the poor should have the means to enjoy the abundance [44].

This plenty was interrupted, however, when, during a great part of the year 1494, Ostia was in the power of the Colonna barons and the suburbs of Rome were assailed by their troops. The principal route of importation, the Tiber, was closed, and scarcity of food and drink was felt. Yet, the papal treasury paid, on the 30th of December, 1494, the sum of one hundred and twenty-five ducats for victuals brought in from abroad and, on the same day, it handed another one hundred and twelve ducats to a messenger sent to the king of Spain, to

41. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 322.
42. Lib. I. Cap. XXXV.
43. XXXVI.
44. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds. fr. Cod. 12186 : Tommasi, Vie de Cesar Borgia, French transl., f° 17.

ask his permission for getting grain from Sicily [45]. Towards the end of the year 1496 and the commencement of 1497, the Tiber was obstructed again by Giuliano della Rovere's commander of Ostia, the cruel Menaldo, who pillaged or sank all vessals laden with provisions for Rome ; but the Pope, anxious for the relief of the City's inhabitants, sent all his army and the Spanish captain, Consalvo, to recapture the fortress and reopen the way for importation. These are probably the two occasions of which Raphael of Volterra speaks, when he says [46] : " In time of dearth, which took place twice, His Holiness had so diligently provided for the City, by importing large quantities of grain from Sicily, that the people hardly felt any inconvenience. "

That pope Alexander VI took great care, indeed, in victualing the city of Rome, appears from the number of officials he employed for that purpose. Not only were the Conservatores to supervise this whole department, but special agents were to secure the goods and others to convey them ; and there also was an officer to investigate their quality, " inquisitor annonae " [47]; and, to take care of the grain received a Commissary, who was paid as high as twenty florins and sixty bolognese a month [48].

It is interesting to see how the Pope managed the business at a time of scarcity of both grain and of money with which to pay for it. On the 21st of April, 1501, while there was yet some grain on hand, he had drawn a certain quantity of wheat from Sicily. This he ordered to be distributed among the millers of Rome, with the injunction of grinding it all, before handling any more of the reserve ; so that with the

45. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527, at the date.

46. Anthropologia.

47. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, f° 151vo.

48. Ibid., vol. 532, at the 6th of August, 1502.

proceeds of the sale of flour, more grain might be bought at once, and the supply kept up [49].

Economy was required on exceptional occasions during the pontificate of pope Alexander VI, but contemporary writers relate that dearth and famine wrought havoc in the City, from the very first year after his death [50].

What further secured the good will of the Roman people towards the Pope was his great promptness in making his payments. Raphael of Volterra states that he never let workmen wait for their wages, teachers for their salaries nor soldiers for their pay [51]. An anonymous author of the 16th century has also found this rare praise in the hostile writers before him, that, namely, this Pope never deferred a single day to satisfy his creditors. He was, moreover, a practical man, he says, shrewd in making promises and liberal when it was necessary [52].

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49. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1501 ad 1503. Armar. 29, n° 54, f° 9vo.

50. Diar. di Sebastiano de Talini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LIV, 22, f° 10; Villari, Disp. di Giustinian vol. III, pp. 190, 236.

51. Anthropologia; Panvinio, Vita Alex. VI, p. 342.

52. Rome, Bibl. Corsinian. Cod. 222, f° 18.

CHAPTER II.

Government of the provinces.

ARTICLE I. — ASSISI RUINED BY FACTIONS AND REBUILT

While solicitous for the peace and prosperity of Rome, pope Alexander VI spared no pains to promote also the welfare of the provinces of the Pontifical States. Valori, the Florentine ambassador, wrote already on the 14th of August, 1492, that the Pontiff elect was constantly engaged in putting in order the affairs of the City and of the territories of his States [1]. At his first consistory, on the last day of that month, he named papal legates: of Spoleto, the cardinal Savelli; in the province of Lavoro, the cardinal of Genoa; of Bologna, the cardinal Sforza; of Avignon, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and of the province of the Patrimony, the cardinal de' Medici, and he took several other measures for the greater good of the Church and of her temporal dominion [2]. Hartman Schedel reports that he spent his days and his nights in attending to public affairs [3].

The cities of the Pontifical States, with their districts, formed, in regard to their administration, two very distinct classes. Those of the former, like Assisi, Benevento, Viterbo, Tivoli, Nepi, Orvieto, and many more, belonged to the direct and immediate domain of the Sovereign Pontiff. Those of the latter class belonged, according to the feudal system, to the noble Lords and families, who held their authority from the Pope, as his Vicars in temporal affairs, " vicarii in temporalibus ".

1. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 612.
2. Bibl. Vatic. Lat. Cod. 8407 : Conclavi Diversi, f° 72.
3. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod Lat. 716, post f° 124.

The Pontiff kept under supervision the cities directly subject to him by means of a governor and castellan, whom he appointed himself; but the inhabitants chose their own " Podestà ", or Mayor, who, in a few cases, needed confirmation by the Pope. They also elected their Conservatores of the Peace, their " Priori ", and their Councilmen, who further named the city officials, and reformed or renewed their city laws and ordinances. They paid duties, tolls and imposts on salt and other commodities, and were to provide the papal army with a certain number of pioneers and armed watchmen of its camps in time of war. On rare occasions they spontaneously regaled their Sovereign or their governor with a grand repast [4]. For the rest, those cities were as so many republics, independent in their own administration, and often engaging but too freely in wrangles and hostilities with their neighbors. Many, if not all, of those little states had, moreover, a number of villages, castles and tenements in their neighborhood, that were amenable to their statutes and tributary to them.

The interference of the central government of the papal court was very limited. The Church had rather a charge of direction and protection, in consequence of her sovereignty, than a true and efficacious power of command. He would commit a grave historical mistake, the one who would represent as tyrannical the government of the Popes of that time, justly says an Italian writer, not suspected of clericalism. The real tyrants were the mean ferocious despots, who played the Lords of other cities and territories of the Latium, Umbria, Romagna and of the Marches [5].

The stronger hand of a more powerful Sovereign might have saved those proud self-governing cities from the suffer-

4. L. Fumi, Aless. VI e il Valentino in Orvieto, pp. 13, 26.

5. Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 105.

ings caused by the pride and ambition of their own inhabitants. Under the paternal administration of the Pontiffs, weakened by the constant opposition of their disloyal vassals, most of the communities of the Pontifical States were either fighting one another or, worse yet, were divided into domestic factions, led by powerful rival families, that were striving for the seigniory of their native place and trying to annihilate their competitors[6]. A few pages of the History of Assisi written by Cristofani[7] give us an idea of the afflictions of many free cities of the Pontifical States, during the reign of pope Alexander VI.

The two principal houses of Assisi : the one of the Fiumi, counts of Sterpeto, and the other of the Nepis, had, after years of hostilities, entered into an agreement, the articles of which the count of Sterpeto was to take to Rome for confirmation by the Pope. A love feast had been prepared for the evening of the 14th of November, 1492, and the " Priori " had invited to the city hall both the Fiumi and Everard, Frederic and Galeotto de Nepis. The latter, not suspecting any ambush, went with some of their friends to peacefully meet their former rivals ; but hardly had they entered the hall, when they were suddenly assaulted by hidden conspirators armed with daggers. Everard and Frederic fell victims to the treachery, and so did several of their relatives and partisans, while Galeotto escaped, slightly wounded.

The news of the frightful occurrence spread at once all over the town, exciting rage in some and joy in others. They all ran for their arms in spite of the darkness, and filled the city with vociferations, while the most prudent were barricading and fortifying their dwellings. Galeotto de Nepis escaped from Assisi during the night, and nearly all the men of his party followed him to the surrounding country places, con-

6. Cfr. Symonds, Renaissance in Italy, p. 34.

7. Della Storie d'Assisi, pp. 360, seqq.

fident that the Baglioni of Perugia would revenge the leading men of the Guelph faction in Assisi.

Nor were they disappointed ; for as soon as Gianpaolo and Carlo Baglione, who happened to reside in Bastia, heard of the tragedy, they gathered as many men as possible from Bastia, Spello and Canara, and were at dawn of the next day before the gates of Assisi, which they forced without much resistance. They then ran all over the lower portion of the city, inhabited by the Fiumi, breaking into the houses, robbing, murdering and taking many prisoners, who afterwards envied the dead. The church of St. Francis was filled with refugees, when the assailants put fire to its doors, entered it with naked swords, killed as many as they met, and took along every article of value from both the church and the monastery. Thus did the Baglioni violate the house of God and the sacred asylum of misfortune, which the cruel Piccinino himself had spared, in the year 1442. The devastation of the city lasted two long days. Such scenes of horror are not uncommon at the sack of captured places, but the Baglione soldiers set an example of savagery that would be incredible, if it were not authentically recorded. They had taken captives from all classes of society and they starved them. Then they set free those who would pay a high ransom and fed the others on the flesh of their murdered relatives, so artfully prepared as to make irrecognizable the abominable viands [8].

The Pope, as soon as informed of the crimes, dispatched to Assisi Nicholas Orsini, count of Pitigliano and captain general of his army. The papal troops withheld the bands of robbers, that were hastening to the unfortunate city, like so many flocks of ravens to a battlefield ; but so intense was the factional hatred among the survivors, that it took several

8. Cristofani, p. 363.

days before Orsini could make any progress in his work of pacification. He finally succeeded, however, and, as a token of gratitude, the Council of Assisi offered him a present of forty gold ducats, on the 25th of November, 1492.

On the 27th, the Pontiff issued a brief to his special commissary, the bishop of Arles [9], by which he approved what the bishop had done so far, ordered him to settle all matters of discord before leaving the place, to proceed against the murderers and the incendiaries of either party and to admonish the castellan that he should hold himself in readiness to aid the public officials. He further directed him to publish an order in the adjoining country for the restitution of all property of Assisians, under pain of ecclesiastical censures.

In consequence of this letter, the count of Pitigliano outlaved the three assassins of the Nepis, promising to anyone. who would deliver them into his hands, three hundred gold ducats and the right of recalling three exiles ; and he banished those who had first appeared in arms on the public square to protect the malefactors. He further exiled twenty-seven men, who had taken part in the latest tumult, besides seven of the most prominent citizens, that had refused to appear before the Pontiff ; and he confiscated all their belongings to the papal treasury—a compensation for the expenses of the military expedition.

The increase of the number of banished citizens augmented the fears for peace and security, and before the end of the year 1492, the city was in danger of being attacked. On the 6th of January, 1493, the council of Assisi resolved to recall those guilty of minor crimes, and the Pontiff approved their action by brief of the 24th of the same month.

These acts of clemency had not their desired effect. Their actual result was, on the contrary, to revive the private ran-

9. Ibid., p. 367.

cors, which, by contact, soon burst forth into open hostilities in the city.

Towards the end of the year 1493, the Blessed Bernardino of Feltre was sent by the Pope to sincerely reconcile the factions of Assisi. The Christian eloquence of this solemn benefactor of humanity, as Cristofani calls him, had such a success that the Assisian " Priori " endeavored to procure to their neighbors of Costano the blessings of their own peace. This happy result did not last, however. New discords broke out, which were fostered by public poverty, increased by the support of the papal troops, kept in the city and its territory, to check the violence of their wildly vindictive inhabitants.

The gates of Assisi were carefully guarded against the expelled bandits, while these, and especially Galeotto de Nepis, constantly required admission. Finally, on the 20th of July, 1494, Nicholas Sajano, vice-legate and the governor of the city granted them entrance, but forbade them to give the least occasion for any quarrel, under pain of death and of confiscation of their property. They excluded, however, from the amnesty all those guilty of crimes punishable by pecuniary and bodily penalties. At the same time the Pope sent to the " Priori " a brief of the 21st and another of the 22d of that same month. By the former he announced to them the arrival of Antonio Flores, a judge of the apostolic palace, as his extraordinary commissary in Assisi, who should hear and decide all cases of contention ; and, if he could not conclude a lasting peace, should have power to disarm and to impose a truce of four months, with arbitrary penalties against its violators. By the latter he ordered them to obey his envoy and to pay him fifty ducats a month [10].

Flores did the best he could, but the Baglioni of Perugia, in spite of his objections, continued to help the Nepis to ruin

10. Ibid., p. 380.

the territory of Assisi, and, one day, unexpectedly entered the city itself. The count of Sterpeto and the other Fiumi saved themselves in the fortress, while the common people, stupefied with fear hurried to hide, even in wells and sewers. Many of them were cruelly slain, and the whole city was plundered. The Baglioni and the Nepis lay siege to the fortress, but through Flores' intercession they desisted, and the Baglioni departed for Lombardy.

In their absence, the Fiumi, in spite of the recent convention, made hostile incursions into the territory of Bologna, doing all the damage they could ; but when Charles VIII, king of France, entered Tuscany, the Baglioni returned home, and helped by the exiles of Assisi, they soon lay waste its whole neighborhood. From the top of its high walls, without daring to set a foot on the outside, the people saw their enemies ravage their fields and burn down their buildings. Then there was a sight of unheard of barbarism ; for, while the exiles burnt the villas of their adversaries, the Fiumi took revenge by setting fire, every day, within the city, to one, two or more houses of the banished Nepis. The frequent incursions of the Perugians kept the inhabitants of Assisi from cultivating their land, and the people of the territory, whose houses were in ashes and harvest destroyed, were wandering about half naked with beards unkempt, hair disheveled and haggard looks, robbing travelers on the roads and not infrequently putting them to death. Unspeakable were the crimes and horrors of these savage wars [11].

To take revenge on Perugia, the Fiumi obtained the assistance of the Lord Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro and of the Baron Antonio Savelli, and they were not ashamed of asking the help of the Pope himself.

The following year, 1495, there were hostilities between the

11. Ibid., p. 389.

cities of Foligno, Spello and Perugia. The Pontiff forbade the Assisians, under severe threats, during the month of March, to take any part in them ; but the count of Sterpeto hoped to punish the Baglioni by joining the Oddi of Perugia, the prefect della Rovere of Senigallia and the duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo of Montefeltro. Sterpeto, however, lost many of his men ; and, as the Nepis were imprudent enough to rejoice at his reverse, he hanged forty of their partisans. The Baglioni, in return, entered Assisi and hanged at the gallows more than two hundred of the Fiume adherents [12].

To pacify the disturbed province of Umbria, the Pope sent, in the year 1495, cardinal Pérault, who proposed the repatriation of the exiles of Assisi ; but, to prevent the desired pacification, the Fiumi set out to wreck the still existing roofs and houses of the expelled Nepis. On the 6th of December, the cardinal threatened the destroyers with the most severe penalties, to which he added, on the 26th, the sentence of excommunication " latae sententiae. " Yet, he became aware, in the beginning of the following year, that means more efficacious than censures were needed ; and he sent to Assisi his commissary, Francis of Pesaro, who, to set an example to others, ordered, arrested and confined in the fortress some of the common people who had continued to damage the houses of the exiles and to steal the lumber [13].

In the beginning of the year 1496 peace was concluded, and broken again between the Fiumi and Perugia.

On the 6th of May, pope Alexander VI wrote to the bishop of Assisi urging upon him the promotion of justice and harmony, but domestic and foreign war continued. The city was losing on every side, and famine reduced its population to small numbers. Still the count of Sterpeto would hear of no agreement with the Baglioni, till, at last, the people,

12. Ibid., p. 393.

13. Ibid., pp. 395-397.

reduced to despair, compelled their council to make a peace with Perugia, which was concluded before the cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, on the 14th of September, 1497. One of the conditions was that the Fiume should, in their turn, be expelled ; but, protected by the duke of Urbino, they gathered all other sufferers from the treaty of peace, and soon infested the Assisian district.

On December the 9th, the governor and castellan, Bernardino of Pesaro directed a few shots on the city, to enforce the demand of his salary. Thereupon the council sent envoys to Rome, to ask the replacement of their governor by the count of Sterpeto, and the Pontiff, upon the advice of his legate, hoping that his consent would further peace, granted their request. This step produced for the moment a beneficial effect, but it became noticeable soon that Assisi, having no true internal peace, would yet have to suffer many calamities, of which it was actually to be freed only by its entire subjection to the Seigniory of the Pontiffs, as Cristofani says [14].

The city was, at the end of the XVth century, poor, exhausted and almost deserted, the victim of its own and of foreign robbers, assassins and incendiaries. The papal officials, to repeople the unfortunate place, announced several exemptions and privileges for families that would come from other localities to settle it anew. Notwithstanding the past and fears for the future, quite a number of people of the province of Umbria, especially from Spoleto, Trevi, Spello and from Perugia itself, took up their habitation in Assisi. Nor should we admire the courage of the newcomers, for the other cities of the Pontifical States fared hardly better ; all of them being disturbed more or less by similar causes [15].

14. Ibid., p. 416:..... Calamità, che non dovevano aver fine se non coll' intera sua soumissione alla signora de' pontefici.

15. Ibid., p. 417.

ARTICLE II. — FACTIONS IN OTHER CITIES.

Indeed, no constitution of pope Alexander VI seems to have been less observed and less known than the one published on the 1st of April, 1493, by which he forbade under pain of excommunication, to all Lords, barons, cities and communities, mediately or immediately belonging to the domain of the Church, to do justice to themselves, by making hostile gatherings, attacks or wars against any offender, or armed incursions on his territories, without sufficient authority of the Pope or his representatives ; ordering them all to follow the judicial course of justice in the settlement of their griefs [16].

Orvieto was one of the few exceptional cities of the Pontifical States to enjoy peace during the reign of pope Alexander VI. With a reduced population, decaying buildings and untidy squares and streets, it lay inert and exhausted through many years of hostilities with its neighbors about the possession of the castle of Monteleone [17]. The Pontiff had a predilection for this place and twice sojourned for a few days in it. At the request of its council, he named, in the year 1494, cardinal Cesar de Borgia, " his nephew " [18], as its protector and soon after, on the 16th of July, 1495, as its governor and castellan for life [19]. This appointment was the good fortune of the Orvietans ; for, but once, in 1497, were they involved in a warlike affray ; and afterwards Cesar protected them against Gianpaolo Baglione, Bartholomeo d'Alviano and other daring enemies. His lieutenant Michele, with his Spanish troops, further secured their peace and helped them in returning rapidly to their former prosperous condition.

16. Magnum Bullar. Roman., Luxemburgi, 1726 ; Bullar. Roman., Laertii Cherubini, Romae 1638 : " Inter multiplices. "

17. Fumi, Alessandro VI e il Valentino in Orvieto, pp. 1, 5 ; Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 123.

18. Archiv. del Commune d'Orvieto, ap. L. Fumi, ubi supra, p. 74.

19. Fumi, ibid., p. 80.

No wonder, if the death of the Pontiff was deeply mourned in Orvieto and a funeral service celebrated in its cathedral by a grateful people [20].

Tivoli was long since divided into two opposite factions, one of which was led by the families of the Fornari and of the Moroni ; the other, by the Leonini, the Tobaldi and the Zaccòni ; and the neighborhood was full of its exiles. In the year 1495, lawlessness reigned supreme in the city and murders took place every day. When hearing of this state of affairs, pope Alexander VI sent two detachments of cavalry, with orders to punish the leaders and quiet their followers ; but when these troops presented themselves at one of the gates, not only was entrance refused to them, but they were assailed by the Fornari and the Moroni with arbalests and other arms, and even pursued in their flight. The Pope either thought it was not then the time to punish them for the affront, or he did not feel able to do so. Antonio Savelli, lord of Albano, and Philip Malvezzi, a nobleman of Bologna, induced the two camps to come to an armistice, on the 4th of May, 1495 ; but it soon became apparent that the intervention of the Sovereign was needed. On the 24th of October, the Pope sent to Tivoli, with full powers, the archbishop of Ragusa, who called the people to St. Mary's church, and read to them the orders of the Pope, namely, to obey his envoy, under pain of three thousand ducats. Sustained by the city council, the bishop imposed peace by banishing forever the chief disturbers of both factions and by threatening with death anyone who should become guilty of homicide in the future [21].

Tivoli remained quiet till the month of October, 1496, when the Pope, at war with the Orsini barons, ordered its citizens

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20. Fumi, ibid., pp. 95, 96 ; Archivio della... Ibid.

21. Santa Viola, Storia di Tivoli, written from documents of its archives, pp. 132-135 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 377.

to attack the lord Giordano Orsini, in their vicinity. On this occasion the expelled Tobaldi, Leonini, Fornari and Moroni succeeded in reentering Tivoli at the same time, and the two factions fell upon each other at once with such fury, that they spared neither age nor sex. Only a few of the Tobaldi and of the Leonini escaped the massacre, while but a single infant of the Fornari was saved, hidden by its nurse in a bed of straw. The Leonini and the Tobaldi were thus left without a rival, and a calm ensued, similar to the calm of the ocean after a destructive tempest [22].

The silent spirit of inveterate discord manifested itself before long again. When the Orsini and the Colonna encamped for battle near Tivoli, many of its prominent citizens, willing to be killed, Viola says, went and distributed themselves among both conflicting parties ; and quite a number of them fell victims to their old Guelph or Ghibelline passions, mixed with the four thousand slain at this bloody encounter of the 30th of March, 1497 [23].

Pope Alexander VI, who had at heart the prosperity of Tivoli, wishing to remove all ferment of dissension, dispatched, on the 23d of July, 1498, Ludovico Agnelli, archbishop of Cosenza, as an apostolic commissary to the city. This prelate, experienced in the government of men, could say, after a few months, that he had totally eradicated the very roots of enmity and strife between the Fornari, the Tobaldi and the Leonini [24].

Two rival houses of Viterbo, the one of the Gatti and the other of the Tignosi, were respectively at the head of the Gatti and of the Maganzese factions, fighting each other, and tearing down that city, many years already before the reign of pope Alexander VI. To please the people, this Pontiff named, in the beginning of the year 1494, a native of Viterbo, as his

22. Santa Viola, ibid., p. 139
23. Viola, ibid., p. 143.
24. Viola, ibid., p. 146.

Legate " a latere " to that city, the cardinal Alexander Farnese, whose tact and authority greatly mitigated their animosities [25]. In 1496, however, the two factions let loose all their wrath. Giovanni Gatti, son of the murdered Princival, had profited by the relative peace, to establish his ascendancy ; when the Maganzese party, helped by the Orsini barons, attached the Gatti and soon put their leader to death [26]. Then the Colonna arose to revenge Giovanni. They captured Viterbo, killed a great number of its people and destroyed many of its buildings [27].

About this time not only Viterbo, but also several cities of the province of Umbria, such as Narni, Terni and Spoleto, were in a constant state of intestine and foreign hostilities, murder and incendiarism. The Pope, who had not the troops needed to restore order, gave charge to the Spanish captain Fernando Consalvo, after he had recovered the fortress of Ostia, to go with his infantry, three thousand strong, and forcibly put an end to the destruction of all those places. He himself continued Consalvo's work through repeated letters and deputations of special commissaries, till, finally, he heard from Viterbo, on the 19th of December, 1498, by letter of his Legate, cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, that all differences had been settled to the satisfaction of all parties. The prudent Ludovico Agnelli, archbishop of Cosenza, had been assigned as an adviser to the cardinal and wisely was left as governor of the place [28].

The saddening history of those cities was substantially the same, under varying circumstances, as that of a dozen more places of the Pontifical States, at that time. Pope Alexander VI was frequently alarmed by the news of their conflicts

25. Bussi, Istoria di Viterbo, p. 285.
26. Leonii, Bartholomeo d'Alviano, p. 152.
27. Bussi, ubi supra, p. 287.
28. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 504 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. XXXVI, 10 : Acta Consist., f° 31.

and crimes, and was steadily at work writing briefs and dispatching commissaries and legates, when unable to send soldiers for the punishment of the most guilty and the restoration of peace.

In the year 1493, he directed the prelate, Gaspar Biondi, to go and pacify the city of Cesena, divided between the Martinelli and the Tiberti. The envoy was successful in doing his duty, but was assassinated on his return to Rome by a partisan dissatisfied with his award [29].

The Pope had dispatched to the city of Amelia two special commissaries, who had managed to end its hostilities with Bartholomew d'Alviano, by an agreement of the 28th of June, 1495, with the Abbot Bernard D'Alviano, in his own name and in that of his father and relatives. In 1497, the people of Amelia declared war on Bartholomew again, but the Pontiff withheld them, through a letter written from Perugia on the 8th of June, by which he threatened them with his indignation and the confiscation of all their property in case of disobedience [30].

The town of Cesi had been destroyed by the French and by its ancient enemies of Terni, who continued to infest its territory, till peace was restored and maintained by cardinal Giovanni de Borgia. After the death of this prelate in the year 1500, the hostilities were renewed between Cesi and Terni, that were both fearfully devastated in turn and turn about, in consequence of the assistance, which either was receiving from their accomplices in strife : the city of Spoleto and the Lords Troilo and Antonello Savelli, Bartholomew d'Alviano and Paolo Baglione. Pope Alexander VI interfered to adjust matters, but Terni neglected his orders. When afterwards Terni was besieged again, he hired the Lord of Piombino with a hundred and forty armed men and

29. Bonoli, Istorie di Forli, p. 270.

30. Leonii, Bartolomeo d'Alviano, p. 151.

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other troops of Ercole Bentivoglio and called the captain, Fernando Consalvo. Then the Spoletans and d'Alviano retired and Terni escaped total subversion, while the Pope preserved Cesi, by accepting it under the direct and absolute government of his Camera, the Clerics of his treasury [31].

Foligno had deserved punishment from its neighbors. To avert the horrors of war, the Pontiff issued several briefs to Bologna and adjacent places. To the " Priori " of Spoleto he wrote on the 23d of September, 1495, ordering them, under pain of heavy fines, to recall their soldiers from molesting Foligno, and promising that he himself would punish the guilty city according to strict justice [32].

On the 4th of February, 1499, the Pontiff directed to Cività Castellana Gentile de Subiaco, as an extraordinary commissary with full power, to restore peace and order, temporarily disturbed in that city [33].

Fano was one of the cities of the Pontifical States the worst afflicted with vindictive factions. To the great displeasure of the Pontiff and in spite of his threatening admonitions, tumults, murders and other acts of violence took place every day in its streets. Three different cardinals warned the people of the loss of their independence, should the disorder continue ; and, in fact the Fanese surrendered to Cesar de Borgia, to save themselves from their own cruelty as well as from that of the French soldiers [34].

Ugolini [35] relates how the accursed factions of the Guelphs and of the Ghibellines divided still in 1498 the fair city of Perugia, where the Baglioni predominated, after having ex-

31. Contelori, Memorie Storiche di Cesi, pp. 57-60 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 373.

32. Achille Sansi, Saggio di Documenti dall' archivio di Spoleto, p. 62.

33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no. 52, fo 163vo.

34. Amiani, Memorie Istoriche de Fano, pp. 78, 81.

35. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 79.

pelled the Oddi. The latter, however, undertook to regain their native place and attacked Perugia, with the assistance of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, duke of Urbino and of John della Rovere, lord of Senigallia. Thereupon the city council begged the help of the Pope, who interposed at once and stopped the internecine contest, by ordering the restitution of their possessions to the Oddi and the payment of five thousand scudi to the duke of Urbino, as compensation for expenses incurred on the occasion [36].

Two houses of the city of Todi : the Atti and the Chiaravalle were long since striving for predominance in that locality ; the one being as unscrupulous as the other, and both unwilling to listen to the orders of their Sovereign [37]. In the year 1500, the rivalry reached its climax. The Chiaravalle were ejected from the city ; but one of them Altobello, surrounded himself with about two hundred of the most vicious, cruel and desperate characters from among his partisans and others of the country ; and lay in wait not only for people of Todi but also for all travelers of the neighborhood. Their misdeeds were enormous ; no man, woman or child, whom they happened to meet, escaped their dagger ; no building, their torch. They were not simply bandits, but ferocious beasts. Their victors of Todi now asked the Pope for protection. A troop of soldiers left Rome for Todi about the end of August, 1500, under the command of Giovanni Serbelloni, and was constantly increased by the lords and cities on their way, until they reached the number of fully thirteen thousand. They surrounded Altobello and his band and drove them to their lair, Acquasparta, a fort prepared for their refuge. The resistance was short, and the punishment adequate. Altobello was hidden, but, when discovered, he

36. Cfr. Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario de' Successi... dall' an. 1498 all' an. 1512, f° 4.

37. Letter of cardinal Pérault, ap. Leonii, Bartholomeo d'Alviano, p. 158.

was denuded, fastened upon a table and cruelly tormented by woman and children, whom he had made widows and orphans. He died an impenitent reprobate [38].

We might further report the warlike disturbances that took place in and about Narni, Ascoli, Fermo and other localities ; but we prefer to close this forbidding subject, of which the only cheerful feature is the tireless care of pope Alexander VI, to use his authority and all the means at his command for the preservation or restoration of justice and peace, without which he knew to be futile all other efforts to make his subjects happy and contented.

An evidence of his longing for peace and, we may add, of his democratic disposition and ancient predilection of the common people, is an unusual document issued in the beginning of his reign, on the 20th of May, 1493 [39]. The city of Recanati had, long ago, voted a Constitution, by which were excluded from the government of that place all noblemen, who, from experience of former years, were known for their ambition, and had involved the community in factions and seditions. Doctors in any branch of science as well as all persons occupying any position of dignity were also debarred from admission to its council, consisting of ninety-six members. The Constitution had been observed from times immemorial, and had not only preserved peace, but restored it when disturbed by the nobility ; and had secured praises even from outsiders. A dozen years before, a new law had been made to confirm the ancient regulations, and the people of Recanati had been waiting for a Pontiff who would, with apostolic authority, forbid every man to propose or nominate any nobleman, knight, doctor or count for election as member of their council.

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38. Leonii, ibid., pp. 59-63, 157-159.

39. Theiner, Cod. Diplom. Dominii S. Sedis, t. III, p. 507, refer. to Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest., t. CVIII, f° 165.

They applied to pope Alexander VI, and this Pontiff not only readily sanctioned the recent law with severe ecclesiastical censures and confiscation of the properties of those who would devise means, scheme or conspire for the election of such individuals ; but he also ordered the names of all noble or prominent men to be struck off the rolls of all guilds and confraternities, through whose intervention they might seek to attain political power. Moreover, the remaining members of all associations and all councilmen should take the oath of fidelity to the Roman Pontiff and to the Constitution of the city of Recanati.

With this same object of procuring peace, the Pontiff steadily extended to more places and territories, immediately subjected to him, a special form of administration which curtailed, it is true, their liberty, or rather their licentiousness, but increased their quietude and security. He subjected them to the direct and absolute government of the Officials of the Apostolic Chamber or Treasury ; thereby withdrawing them from the rival claims of theire more powerful neighbors, and taking them under the special protection of his sovereign authority. A papal commissary managed their public affairs.

Thus pope Alexander VI, in the first months of his reign, redeemed from the city of Velletri the ruined castle of Faiola together with Castelgandolpho, Roccapriora and Burgetto, and assigned them to the administration of the Apostolic Chamber [40].

The towns and castles of Marciliano, Vepri, Torre Barathoni and Tudini, of the diocese of Todi had made application to the Clerics of the Treasury to be governed by them, like the people of Montecastello recently admitted. The Pontiff took pity on the poor people, and, on the 3d of September, 1496, named the eminent doctor of canon law, Galassio

40. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXII, 242 : Ex Registris Alex. VI, not foliated.

Frienceschini of Orvieto, as his first commissary of those localities. He gave him charge to personally visit those and other places of the Todi territory, to accept all that were desirous to be governed by the Apostolic Chamber and to receive their oath ol allegiance. He recommended to him to manage their affairs in such a manner, that they might justly feel happy under their new superiors ; and further, to watch that the citizens of Todi or others should cause no disturbance on the occasion of this change [41].

By brief of the 28th of September, 1496, pope Alexander VI allowed the Presidents of his Treasury to accept under their government all cities and territories that should spontaneously request their admission [42].

On the 9th of November of the same year, the Pope granted the request of the people of Ronciglione to be placed under the direct authority of the Holy See. He accepted their oath of fidelity and released them from their sworn allegiance to cardinal Giuliano della Rovere [43].

From a brief of pope Julius II we learn that Alexander VI had also relieved from the dominion of Todi the town of Acquasparta and subjected it to the direct administration of his Apostolic Chamber [44].

The Lands of the Arnolfs, so named after an ancient lord, were a large territory between the river Nera and the city of Spoleto [45]. Terni and Spoleto laid claim upon that country, and it was for years ravaged alternately by both cities, as

41. See Document 149.

42. Paris, Archiv. Nation., L. 378. Capsule XXV, no. 15, p. 9.

43. Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 1045, alias 34 G. q. fo 221vo.

44. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II. Brevia. An. 1504-1506. Armar. 39, no. 22, fo 39vo.

45. Its capital was Cesi, and its towns were Porcaria, Macerino, Purzano, Colle Campo, Messanano, Cisterna, Fiorenzola, Scoppio, Fogliano, Rapicciano, Palazzo, Arezzo, Cordigliano, Mogliano, Buclano, Mandrelle, Balluino, Streppeto, Appollinaco, Poggio, Apecano, Acqua Polombo, Valle Paracchia, and other villas and castles.—Contelori, Mem. Stor. di Cesi, pp. 61, 73 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex VI. Secret. An. VIII ad XI. Lib. II. Regest. 868, p. 100.

we have just noticed, until pope Alexander VI, fearing that the whole district would be totally destroyed or abandoned by its inhabitants, took it away from the pretensions of the contending cities, and placed it, on the 29th of April, 1502, under the government and protection of his Apostolic Chamber [46]. To administer the public affairs, he named Ventura, the bishop of Terni [47], to whom he recommended prudence, benignity, and fortitude against any attempt of Spoleto, Terni, or anyone else to bring again under their power any part of the Arnolfian Lands.

We may here remark in general that pope Alexander VI chose as commissaries and governors none but the ablest and most commendable men, upon whom he invariably enjoined, by the very diplomas of their appointment, great justice and kindness towards their subjects, in order that, as he said, the people may justly congratulate themselves on having obtained wise and laudable rulers. In fact, a reader of the later history of the Pontifical States will easily notice that the cities and towns administered directly by the central government of the Pontiffs were the ones that, in contrast with the others, enjoyed peace and happiness.

Rome, unlike many other cities of the Pontifical States, was free of internal factions, quiet and happy during the reign of pope Alexander VI. The year fourteen hundred and ninety-five was, however, an exceptional year of misfortune and calamity. As we soon will see, this year commenced with the irruption of the French, and Rome had much to suffer from their robberies and murders, for almost the whole month of January. In the following May, the Romans were obliged again to admit the dreaded French army within their walls ;

46. Contelori ; Bibl. Vatic. Ottoboniana, Cod. 2528, fo 58vo ; and Archiv. Secret. Ibid.

47. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, Julii 18, 1502.

but it was the last month that proved to be the most disastrous of the whole year 1495.

The following relation is made in two letters of the 4th and of the 8th of December, by a prominent Venetian resident in Rome [48]. " On the 25th of November, it commenced to be very cold here, something unusual in this part of the country, according to the oldest members of the Roman court. On the 1st of the said month, after it had snowed a little, the weather became mild and turned into raining, and so heavy was the downpour, that the water seemed to be coming down in bucketfuls ; and it lasted from Tuesday morning until Thursday noon [49]. Then we had fine weather.

" The Tiber commenced to swell at such a rate that, Friday morning, it covered all the adjoining prairies and many places in the City. On the 4th, the river had risen more than ever, within the memory of men. On Friday evening, a poor man, who had come down the Tiber, holding fast to a tree was taken up by some boats, at the wharf of the Ripa. He asserted that, when in the valley of Monterotondo, which is eleven miles from Rome, the water so crept about his feet, that before he noticed it, he had no other means of saving himself than to climb on that tree ; and that the rush of the water was so great and terrific, that it tore away the tree, and swept it along ; and he had fastened himself to that tree, and never let it go, until he was brought where, half dead, he received assistance.

" The whole City was submerged, to the incalculable damage of all classes of people. A consistory had been called for the morning of that day, and through God's will, it was dismissed earlier than usually. Many cardinals had arrived

48. Domen. Malipiero, Annal Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I, t. VII. P. I, pp. 409, 411.

49. Thirthy-six hours without intermission, as Pietro Delphini writes from Florence on the 19th of December ; Epistol. Lib. IV. Epist. LXXII, f° q. iiii.

at the bridge of Sant' Angelo, when with great swiftness, in a moment, the water flooded the streets, with such force, that they could hardly save themselves in their dwellings. The waters rose until the evening of the following day, so swiftly that people were suddenly overtaken in their beds, and many perished " Cardinal Morichini states [50] that the Tiber was about twelve feet, 3.610 meters, above its usual stage at that season of the year ; and Pietro Delphini [51] says fifteen cubits.

" Many, who succeeded in saving themselves, lost their merchandise and other belongings. All the others, who tried to fix their doors, were drowned ; and the efforts that until then had been made to save moveable property, were henceforth applied to save lives on the roofs and on the highest localities of the City. During the night loud cries were heard in all parts of the City from people who were begging for help ; but while every one was busy trying to save his own, many perished. For three continuous hours there was, on the level portion of Rome, a most violent tempest, like one of the fiercest that can be met on the seas.

" After the storm was over, people have navigated through Rome as they do in our canals. All have been besieged in their houses, because they have not been able to avail themselves of their horses ; and, besides the canoes, that are rare in these parts, it has been necessary to construct rafts, and on them to go and deliver the goods required by those who stood in need of them (and all needed them), in the best possible way which the misfortune has permitted ; because there has been no one of what standing soever, who has not felt the need of buying the necessaries of life, and to be satisfied with what nature demands, and no more ; and this itself has been obtained with much difficulty ; because it was

50. Degli Instituti di Carità in Roma, p. 320.

51. Ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1495, no. XXXVIII.

necessary to pull it up by hand through the windows ; so that even those who are used to high living have, this time, been reserved in their habits and moderate. Many have been unable to obtain the bare necessities of life. I think that a good many things which happened here, and of which I do not write, will be considered as fictions by those who hear of them ; for there occurred wonderful things that seldom happen. There are many who until now cannot quench their thirst, although they be almost submerged by the water. The reservoirs and wells are all unfit for use.

" All stores are ruined. The inhabitants of the Transtevere are also afraid of losing their bridges. Many buildings and palaces have crumbled down [52], entailing many deaths and the loss of goods carried to their upper stories. The pavements of the churches are ruined and all the victuals of the City. Nearly all the animals of the country are drowned, some of them in open fields, others in their grottoes. The birds let themselves fall on the houses. The shepperds have abandoned their flocks and the workmen of the vineyards have left their labor, and have climbed on the trees to save their lives. They have fastened themselves to them, for fear of falling from weariness; but they were lost notwithstanding, some through hunger, others through cold. Some have been, half dead, carried by the water, on eradicated trees, to the City. All the rafts of the country, laden with victuals, have been destroyed ; and it is feared that the territory in the neighborhood of Rome will bear no crops next year.

" An infant boy has been found in a cradle floating down with the current of the river ; but he has been caught and is safe. May God do to him as he did to Moses and to Romulus, who both had a similar good fortune at their birth.

" It is said that, a hundred and twenty years ago, at the

52. Also Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 271.

time of pope Sixtus, the Tiber caused another great inundation ; but it was three cubits lower, and there are souvenirs of it in many places of the City. There was also a great overflow in the days of Martin V, but, this time, the water was much deeper. Many fear a great many evils, and consider this flood as something of a prodigy, but it belongs not to me to comment on it. There is fear of a universal mortality of the cattle of his country; a calamity which has always followed similar inundations ; but these parts of Rome have suffered so much that they deserve compassion [53]. The Pope had ordered solemn processions to implore the commiseration of the Lord God.

" During the night between Saturday and Sunday, the water commenced to subside slowly. Yesterday morning it had disappeared from the streets, but the gardens and basements were covered with dead animals and suchlike filth. It will not be possible to clean them within three months. The damages sustained by the City are incalculable and Rome will not recover from them in a quarter of a century. The river boats, the mills and all the old houses are destroyed and all the horses of the stables situated in the lower parts of the city have likewise perished. In consequence of the destruction of the mills, bread will soon be wanting. Thanks be to God, our mills are preserved. Many prisoners are drowned in Torre di Nona. The trenches of the fortress of Sant' Angelo are yet full of water. Monks from San Paolo have visited our ambassador yesterday, and they relate that the flood reached the hight of the main altar of their church. You know how high it is, and you can conclude from it how deep the water must have been at other points.

" All these happenings have seemed worthy to me of being

53. Malipiero estimates the loss at 300,000 ducats : Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 345.

reported to you. I recommend myself to your Magnificence. From Rome, December 4th, and the 8th. "

As just noticed, pope Alexander VI ordered public supplications to obtain the benign assistance of God in this great calamity. He himself arranged a general procession, in which all the clergy and laity of Rome should partake, on Sunday, the 13th of December, 1495. An edict was published, to convoke all the Roman clergymen, both secular and regular, who should assemble with their parishioners about the church of St. Lawrence in Damaso, and thence proceed to St. Peter's place, where the Pope himself joined them with his own procession from the Vatican palace, and personally officiated at the grand religious ceremony [54].

Burchard reports [55] another submersion of Rome, which took place in the Jubilee year of 1500. On the 3d of November, the Tiber had risen so high, that it was impossible to reach the Vatican without the use of canoes ; and the waters continued to rise for two more days. The damages were light, however, when compared with those of five years before.

ARTICLE III. — BRIGANDAGE OPPOSED, PROSPERITY FOSTERED.

Perfect peace and security could not be expected in a country where frequent wars turned out of the cities a great number of exiles, " banditi, " many of whom became regular bandits. Even in time of peace the Pontiff was constantly under heavy expenses, to protect his subjects against robbers and murderers.

The threat of excommunication, renewed every year by the bull " In Coena Domini " [56], had no terrors for the pirates and highwaymen of the Pontifical States. Already on the 21st of

54. Burchard, Diarium, t. II, p. 252, seq.

55. Ibid., t. III, p. 84.

56. Document 94, § 3, 7, 8.

August, 1493, the Pope issued a bull, forbidding, under pain of excommunication and of confiscation of their property, all pirates from robbing ships, and all highwaymen from abducting any beast of burden, that was carrying alum, destined for the support of the refugees from the Turks [57]. Not only at the time of the Roman Jubilee, but in other years as well, was he obliged to keep a fleet, in order to watch over the coasts of his possessions. Thus did he, on the 25th of October, 1497, pay to Leander of Civitavechhia, for one month's safeguard of that shore, with one brigantine and thirty men, the sum of a hundred and twenty-five florins ; and the same day he paid a like sum to the constable Muntinus, to buy another vessel for the same purpose [58]. On the 14th of February, 1499, he paid to Villamarin, the captain of his fleet, sent with three triremes to watch the mouth of the Tiber, fifteen hundred and sixty-two, and again, two thousand and eighty-three florins [59].

The Pope had at all times a large number of soldiers doing police duty. On November 22d, 1497, he paid one hundred and fifteen florins to two officers with twenty infantrymen, requiring from them to guard the Ponte Molle near Rome [60].

On the 11th of November, 1498, he sent to Acquapendente, as general commissary, Peter James de Hermannis of Perugia, to clear of robbers the highways of the Patrimony and to protect the travelers, their goods and merchandise on the public roads of that province. He ordered the people of Acquapendente to give him all the assistance which he might require, under pain of making compensation for the plunder and damage that might be committed within their boundaries [61].

57. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. An. I, II, t. VIII, f° 212.
58. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 530, at the date.
59. Ibid., at the date.
60. Ibid., vol. 530, at the date.
61. Archivio della Società Roman. di Storia patria, vol. IV, p. 99.

He paid on the 14th of January, 1499, one hundred and twenty-five florins, one month's pay of forty soldiers, who were guarding the city of Viterbo ; and on the 4th of the following May, he paid a like sum for the same purpose [62].

On the 22d of July and the 26th of August of the same year, he paid a hundred and forty-eight florins to Didacus Cosmedin and his forty men, sent to police the city of Tivoli [63].

He paid on the 11th of December, 1501, a hundred and thirty-seven florins and a like sum, on the 9th of April, 1502 ; each amount for a month's pay, to Centius de Sinebardis, the marshal of the Campagna, and to his men [64].

On July 2d, 1502, he paid to Mark Pauli, a marshal of the cities of Terni, Narni and Renti, and to his men, a monthly pay of forty-one florins [65].

All these are but a few instances of the expensive efforts constantly made by pope Alexander VI, to procure to his subjects all possible security for their persons and their possessions. He was particularly active and rigorous in regard to the immigrants from Corsica, who ran in bands all over the Western provinces of the Pontifical States, stealing, robbing and not seldom murdering wayfarers and other people. In the year 1499, he sent forth several squads of soldiers against them. He paid on April 5th of that year, the considerable amount of three hundred and eleven florins, as one month's pay, to Peranthony Camillo, his chief of police, deputed to arrest and punish the Corsican marauders ; and paid him again on the 28th of the following May, two hundred and fifty-five florins, for him and for his soldiers [66].

On the 24th of April, 1500, cardinal Raphael Riario, the papal " camerarius, " by order of the Pope, wrote to the

62. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at the dates.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., vol. 532, at the dates.
65. Ibid., at the date.
66. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at the dates.

people of Nepi that the Corsicans, belonging to the gang called " della Macchia, " who had lately been pardoned, were committing more crimes than before; and he commanded that the citizens of Nepi should pursue, arrest and punish them according to their deserts ; and not leave anything undone to drive them out of the Patrimony [67].

On May 25th of the same year, cardinal Riario wrote to the council of Acquapendente that, in consequence of the constant assaults of the Corsicans on the pilgrims to Rome, and of their other depredations, he was then sending Dominic de Capranica, one of the Clerics of the Apostolic Chamber, with orders to publish in their city, as it was done elsewhere, the decree of their expulsion from the whole dominion of the Church. He commended them to send out twenty well-armed men, who should remain in the pursuit of the Corsicans for a whole month, arrest and punish all whom they should be able to apprehend ; adding that he had given the same directions to other cities [68].

At the same time the Pope dispatched a similar letter to the council of Nepi, ordering thirty of their men, for a month, to catch, punish and drive out all Corsicans whom they would find [69].

On the 7th of June, however, he allowed to all the Corsicans, with the exception of criminals and members of the Macchia, two weeks to settle their business and return to their island [70].

On March 29th, 1501, the Pontiff ordered paid to Ludovico Deodati, a Roman citizen and marshal sent against the Corsicans, and to his men, the sum of one hundred ducats [71].

Ludovico de Castro, marshal against the Corsicans in the

67. Communal Archiv. of Nepi, Liber brevium.

68. Archiv. della Società Roman. di Storia Patria, vol. IV. p 101.

69. Archiv. Commun. di Nepi, Liber de Brevis, f° 21.

70. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Lib. IIII. Armar. 29, no. 53. f° 112vo.

71. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, mandati 1501-1503, f° 16vo.

Patrimony, received for himself and his squad of soldiers on the 27th of November, 1501, the sum of one hundred and four florins [72].

Pope Alexander VI, deeply concerned with the question of how to rid his States of thieves and malefactors of all kinds, while in search of a means to attain this end, and recalling to mind the happy memories of his youth, submitted to the Cardinals' opinion the institution of the Spanish " Santa Hermandad " or Holy Confraternity. In the Consistory of the 14th of December, 1498, he asked their advice again, and cardinal de Carvajal read a proposed scheme in the Spanish language, of which the substance is as follows : The Hermandad should be tried in the Campagna and in the Patrimony ; and, if a success, it ought to be established in all the provinces of the Church. Every town should propose in the beginning of the year six candidates, of whom two Representatives : one of the people and one of the nobility, should be chosen by His Holiness, who should also, every third year, select an officer for each province. To them he should give the faculty to judge, without adjustment or appeal, all offenses not deserving death, committed in places having less than fifty houses. The whole force should consist of forty light cavalry and of forty foot, serving at their own cost for one year. From each village there should be under arms a number in proportion to its size, who, at the order of the representative or of the commander, should pursue any criminal as far as the next locality, whose Hermandad members they should call out by the sound of the bells. Should a malefactor flee to a place belonging to some Lord, the latter should be requested to surrender him, or to allow the place to be searched ; and, should the Lord refuse, the ordinary troops of the Pope should join the Hermandad and assail the place

72. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, At the date.

till the criminal be arrested. Anyone who would reveal a guilty individual, notify the officers, or deliver him to them, should receive a reward. All fines and confiscations imposed should be for the benefit of the Hermandad.

After the reading of this plan, it was proposed to invite the Orsini and the Colonna barons to be present at the establishment of the Holy Confraternity ; and, according to their answer, to further write to the other barons [73].

The Roman barons opposed the scheme and continued to shelter the evildoers of the Pontiff's dominions. The project of the Hermandad was a failure, and the Pope had only the merits of his good will, in the steps he took to protect more effectually the safety and happiness of his people.

The common people of the Pontifical States were subject to many thefts and other misdeeds during the frequent dissensions of the noble lords and governors of their principal cities ; and they had continually to suffer what we might call the legal robberies of their masters, who needed the money of their subjects to pay for their wars and their princely living. These petty tyrants imposed and exacted not only the moderate taxes and tolls, allowed them by ancient custom, but they frequently added new impositions and increased the older ones, in spite of the conditions of their appointment and investiture, and especially against the will of their suzerain, pope Alexander VI. They went so far as to contest the right of the papal court either to prevent them from thus reducing their subjects to poverty, or to punish them for their thievery. The Pope, who always was a friend of the poorer classes, could tolerate the injustice no longer; and in the month of April, 1497, he not only allowed, but ordered the judge and assessors of his state tribunal, that is, the president and clerics of his treasury, to effectually forbid the

73. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds latin, Cod. 12555, fiis 2, seqq.

Roman barons, the vicars or princes of cities and territories and any other superiors, to further burden the people with new or increased tolls and contributions, without special permission of the Sovereign Pontiff ; and, should they dare to disobey, to inflict upon them pecuniary fines and all ecclesiastical censures ; and, in case of resistance, to increase the penalties already imposed [74].

Pope Alexander VI also assisted his subjects to increase their temporal prosperity by encouraging commerce and industries of all kinds. He had hardly taken in hand the reins of government when, on the 25th of September, 1492, he not only confirmed all the former privileges of the citizens of Acquapendente, but also granted them that their oxen employed in agriculture should not be liable to seizure ; and that, for two years, they should be allowed to hold public fairs, at which neither sellers nor buyers should have to pay any tolls or custom dues [75].

On February 25th, 1494, he gave, for a space of two years and more, a charter to a score of Florentine merchants, their associates, companies, families and servants, by which he secured them a safe-conduct to come, stay, leave and return to, in or from Rome, or any other city or town, mediately or immediately subject to the government of the Church ; to buy, sell or exchange any animals or merchandise of any kind ; to import or export, by water or by land ; to travel by day or by night, armed or unarmed, without hindrance or molestation from any official, baron or vassal of the Pontifical States [76].

On the 28th of March, 1495, the Pope confirmed to Anthony de Simoncellis, a citizen of Orvieto, his exemption from pecu-

74. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1495-1497. Lib. II. Armar. 29, no. 51, f° 186.

75. A papal brief ap. Archiv. della Società Roman. di Roman di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 97.

76. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secretar. An. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 204.

niary imposts and granted him new privileges, in consideration of his expenses in rebuilding the castle of Vicini in the adjoining district, in reclaiming for cultivation and productiveness wooded, rough and sterile lands, and in constructing safe and commodious dwellings in places that were insecure and deserted before : all to the honor and benefit of Orvieto [77].

In the year 1498, he encouraged by special favors and privileges the industry of mining for gold, iron and other metals in his States [78].

The city of Corneto was built in a fertile country, that had long produced abundant harvests of wheat and other cereals ; but agriculture was being restricted more and more at the time of pope Alexander VI, because the people complained that it cost them more to raise the grain than they received for it, in consequence of the vexatious interference of custom-house officers and other officials who, under the pretense of possible scarcity in Rome, often forbade them to sell and ship their produce. When the Pope heard of this situation, he made, on the 22d of April 1499, an agreement with the city, according to which the whole grain crop was to be divided into three parts, after deducting what was necessary for food and for seed of the next year's crop besides three hundred measures to exchange for wine. The first of these parts could be sold and delivered anywhere and at any time by the people. The second third was to be kept till the end of the month of December, and before the end of this month, the papal treasury was entitled to buy it, at the rate of two gold florins a measure, " modius " ; but, if this price was not then paid, the farmers could sell also this part to any buyer. The last third of the crop was to be preserved until the following mont of March, when the papal

77. Ibid. Alex. VI. Bullar. An I, II, III. t. XVIII. Regest. 789, fo 60vo.

78. Ibid. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29. no. 52, f° 191.

treasury would have the option of buying it at the market price. If the money was not paid before the end of the month, the people were free again to sell this last part of their grain to whomsoever they pleased. These stipulations gave general satisfaction, and agriculture flourished in Corneto again [79].

This Pontiff was probably the first Sovereign to establish a Postal Department and to name a Postmaster general, whom he called the Host of messengers to Spain. In his endeavor to augment the conveniences of the Roman people, he ordained, on the 21st of March, 1499, that, for all time to come, one experienced man should guide all envoys to Spain, and care that all correspondence, documents and legal papers, destined for that country, should be delivered to the persons to whom they were directed, and, conversely, all letters and papers arriving from Spain. He appointed to the office Garcias de Penafiel of Palencia, in whose experience, loyalty and honesty he had all confidence, and he gave him a competent salary. No one else could in the future, dispatch any messenger or writing to Spain, under penalty of one hundred ducats, to be applied half to the Host and half to the apostolic treasury [80].

Although the subject matter be of little importance, yet the report of an ancient, hostile writer offers a striking proof of the fatherly interest, which pope Alexander VI took in the well being and comforts of his subjects, when he states that the Pontiff introduced into his States many foreign novelties, such as partridges and new varieties of grapes and figs [81].

79. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar. An. VII, VIII, t. LIII, Regest. 824, f° 79.

80. Ibid., Bullar. An. VIII, IX, t. LXII, Regest. 833, f° 108vo.

81. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Sessoriani, Cod. 394, f° 47vo.

ARTICLE IV. — PAPAL REVENUES FROM THE PONTIFICAL STATES.

Pope Alexander VI, truly devoted as he was to the welfare of his subjects, required from them no heavier contributions than were absolutely needed to defray the expenses of his own frugal living, of his economical administration and of the military expeditions undertaken for their peace and security. In fact, to supply the deficiency, he was generally compelled to encroach upon his ecclesiastical revenues, mainly destined to charities and, to the defense of Christianity against the Turks.

The papal income from all ordinary sources is, under the name of " Die Kirche, " the Church, stated by Gregorovius [82] to have been 200,000 gold florins or ducats, on a list compiled for its comparison with that of other Italian States. Gottlob [83] agrees with this estimate, and we consider it as confirmed by the word of pope Alexander VI himself, who orders his legate of Hungary to promise to king Ladislas that, out of the 200,000 ducats of his revenue, he shall pay him a yearly subsidy of 40,000, towards his wars against the Turks. It ought, however, to be observed that the Pope's income from the whole of Christendom, is a matter quite different from the contributions and duties paid to him, as to their Sovereign, by the inhabitants of his temporal domain.

The moneys paid, or payable, to the Pontiff by his subjects are valued by Gottlob [84] at from 100,000 to 150,000 yearly ducats. Gregorovius gives an approximate detailed account of these revenues for the year 1492 [85], in which he includes the " census " or tribute due from the papal vassals, but mostly unpaid by them :

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82. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 347, no. 2.
83. Aus der Camera apostol., s. 256.
84. Ibid.
85. Ubi supra.

Tribute of Ferrara.	4,000	Ducats
" " Urbino.	1,400	"
" " Faenza	1,000	"
" " Pesaro	750	"
" " Forli	1,000	"
" " Imola.	300	"
" " Petty Lords	500	"
Custom duties on cattle in Rome and in the province of the Patrimony . . .	16,000	"
Custom duties on Salt.	18,000	"
Subtreasury of the Marches an Romagna.	12,000	"
" " Perugia.	6,000	"
" " the Patrimony.	4,000	"
" " Ascoli	3,000	"
Duties or wine in Bologna.	4,000	"
Direct Subsidies.	1,500	"
Custom duties at the wharfs of Rome. .	16,000	"
Duties " delle Mercantie "	10,000	"
" on fats and oils	6,000	"
" on salt retailed	6,000	"
Salt works in the Marches, Romagna and Foligno	10.000	"
Total income,	121,450	"

Gregorovius has also left us[86] a list of the revenues of Princes in the other States of Italy; from which we way form a just estimate of the pecuniary burdens imposed by the Roman Pontiff upon his subjects, if we only compare the size of each of those States with that of the papal domain.

86. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 347, n. 2, from Florentine Archives.

The Pontifical States were charged . .	150,000	Ducats
Savoie paid	100,000	"
Montferrat	50,000	"
Genoa	100,000	"
Milan	600,000	"
Mantua	60,000	"
Ferrara	120,000	"
Bologna	60,000	"
Venice	1,000,000	"
Imola and Forli	30,000	"
Faenza	12,000	"
Rimini	10,000	"
Urbino	50,000	"
Pesaro	15,000	"
Camerino	10,000	"
Florence.	300,000	"
Siena	60,000	"
The territories of the Colonna . . .	25,000	"
The territories of the Orsini	25,000	"
Naples	600,000	"

From this schedule it appears that the Pontifical States were charged hardly one fourth of what the other Italian countries had to pay to their Princes and Lords. Von Reumont remarks [87] that there was no country in the world that paid less in taxes than the territories of the Church. The Pope, he adds, received his principal income from foreign lands, and he spent it to feed Rome and, to a certain extent, his provinces.

No taxes were assessed on property, whether real or personal ; there was no poll tax, no inheritance tax, no income tax. All the imposts consisted of moderate import and

87. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 279.

export duties, small dues on the sale or exchange of commodities, principally of grain, salt and wine, and licenses for their retail, besides tolls for passing through cities, over highways and bridges ; and these latter dues were generally applied to local improvements.

Duties were levied on imports of the towns of Arquata and of Mount St. Mary, in the diocese of Ascoli, as they were everywhere else. Arquata was a prosperous place in a fertile country, while Mount St. Mary, in a stony location, could hardly raise its food for one third of the year, and was very poor. Its people exchanged handiwork for grain, with the inhabitants of Arquata ; but the excise impost, however light it might be, acted doubly to the disadvantage of the needy people. They exposed their condition to pope Alexander VI, who, taking pity on them, abolished forever, on the 3d of April, 1493, all duties on merchandise exchanged between the two towns [88].

It was forbidden by the bull " In Caena Domini, " under pain of excommunication, to increase or multiply customary imposts ; but the Pope was informed that certain Lords and cities of his States, unmindful of the general threats, were burdening the people with new and increased duties and tolls. He, at once, in the month of April, 1497, gave orders to the regents of his treasury not only to renew, but also to increase the penalties to be inflicted on all such transgressors of the yearly made inhibition [89].

The contemporary Philippe de Commines says well [90] that, were it not for the wars of the Colonna and the Orsini, the territory of the Church would be the happiest spot of the world in which to live, because its inhabitants pay no tallage

88. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., An. I, t. VI, Regest. 777, fo 11vo.

89. Ibid., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1495-1497. Lib. II. Armar. 29, no 51, f° 186.

90. Memoires t. II. Livre VII. Chap. X, p. 45.

nor any other duties, " car ils ne payent ne tailles ne gueres autres choses. "

ARTICLE V. — EXCURSIONS OF ALEXANDER VI.

Pope Alexander VI had a fatherly love for his subjects and found among them his needed rest and recreation. He was often seen in the streets of Rome, riding on horseback, accompanied by a few prelates, and making his tours of inspection and his pilgrimages from church to church. From his apartments in the castle of Sant' Angelo or the palace of San Marco, he assisted at the annual festivities of the Roman carnival, as did Pius II before him [91], and Julius II and Leo X, after him [92]. His visits to the country were frequent and often protracted. During them he abstained from all but the most important business, but kept a watchful eye on whatever was to be corrected or encouraged. We have taken note of his following excursions :

While it was hot and unhealthy weather, the Pope, following the Blessed Sacrament, and accompanied by several cardinals and a numerous suite, left Rome on the 26th of October, 1493. He took lunch in Bassano and arrived in Nepi towards evening, was well received by the people and entertained by its governor, cardinal Ascanio Sforza [93]. Here he piously spent the 27th, a Sunday.

The following day he lunched in Ronciglione, and in the afternoon reached Viterbo, where all possible honors were tendered to him, with festivities that lasted two days. He remained ten days and took up headquarters at the episcopal

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91. Gobellinus, Pii II. Comment. Lib. IX, p. 236.

92. Ademollo, Alessandro VI, Giulio II e Leone X nel Carnevale di Roma, p. 72 et passim.

93. All particulars of this report are taken from Rome, Bibl. Valicell. Cod. I, 47, no. 2 alias f° 6, and confirmed by other contemporary writings.

palace [94]. On Wednesday he enjoyed a rest from his long ride in the saddle and other exertions. The next days were devoted to divine services, as these were observed in Rome. He went for luncheon to the fortress on the 2d of November, and rode back in the afternoon. The following Sunday he visited the Bolican and the Papal baths.

The Pontiff was given a solemn reception at Toscanella on the 6th, and on the 7th he was enthusiastically welcomed in Corneto, where, on the following day, he went fishing. On the 9th of November he visited Civita Vecchia, with a few courtiers and but two cardinals ; and returned to Corneto by water the next day. On the 11th he went to visit the convent of St. Francis. Tuesday was devoted to business and Wednesday was given to huting, from which he rested the following day. Saturday was spent in hunting and fishing, and nothing unusual took place on the next Sunday.

On the 18th he left Corneto, taking luncheon at Montorio near Toscanella and, accompanied by a few cardinals, he reached Capodimonte, where the Lords de Farnesio offered him the keys of their town. It is noted that here the farmers had to carry the canopy of the Blessed Sacrament, for want of clergy and of noblemen. On the 19th the Pope rode to Martha and returned by the lake to Capodimonte. The whole court was well entertained by the Farnese, and for the amusement of the Pontiff there was a boat race on the lakes.

Thence the Pope went to Pitigliano, where te count gave him a brilliant reception, and where, on the 21st, he took a look at the city walls or cliffs. On Friday, the 22d, he entered Acquàpendente, and the Commune treated the whole curia magnificently.

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94. Bussi, Istor. de la città di Viterbo, p. 285.

Fumi [95] agrees with our informant in stating that the Pope arrived in Orvieto on the 23d of November, 1493, and describes the cordial and magnificent reception, which was tendered to him in this city, as also the Pontiff's kindness and the favors bestowed on the people. His stay in Orvieto was of ten days, and without notable incidents, except that on Sunday afternoon be went to see games that were given in his honor. On several previous days, business had been transacted in consistories.

The Pope entered Montefiascone on the 5th of December and Viterbo again the next day, under a heavy rain, and he remained for ten days, also on this second visit during this same excursion from Rome [96]. On the 7th he lunched at the fortress and afterwards visited St. Mary's of the Oak. On Tuesday he took a stroll to look over the city and, in particular, at some ancient discovered statuary. The following Sunday he ordered the mantle of St. John the Baptist and the heads of the martyrs, Sts Hilarius and Valentine, to be shown to the people.

On Monday, December 16th, he left in rainy weather for Suriano, where he was splendidly welcomed, and the next day he arrived in Cività Castellana. On Wednesday he entered the town of Fiano, where he visited no church, because he felt worn out. At night he boarded a vessel, and, on Thursday, December 19th, he returned on the Tiber to Rome, as far as Santa Maria in Popolo, where he stopped to say a prayer. Then, making a detour through the streets of the City, he proceeded to the Vatican palace, surrounded by the Roman people, who expressed their joy by plaudits and acclamations [97].

On the 11th of July, 1494, cardinal Sangiorgio was named

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95. Alessandro VI e il Valentino in Orvieto, p. 6.
96. Bussi, ubi supra.
97. Card. Cesarini, Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48, f° 24

Legate of Rome by the Pope, who intended to absent himself a few days, in order to avoid the heat and the infectious air of the City [98].

On the 12th of that month he went on his way, by Tivoli, to Vicovaro, there to meet king Alfonso of Naples and to concert with him about the means of opposing Charles VIII of France, who was preparing his invasion of the Southern kingdom. He was honorably received in both cities and returned to Rome on the 17th [99].

The people of Viterbo had very much offended their Sovereign, especially by refusing admission to the troops sent there on the occasion of the approach of the French king, Charles VIII ; but he had granted them pardon on the 7th of February, 1495 [100]. In order to restore or confirm the renewed harmony, pope Alexander VI went to visit Viterbo once more on the 23d of the following June. The day following, he pontificated in the cathedral, and returned to Rome at the end of the month [101].

He went to Orvieto again and proceeded to Perugia on the 27th of May, 1495, to avoid a meeting with Charles VIII who was returning from Naples.

After the capture of Ostia from cardinal Giuliano della Rovere and his reconciliation with this prelate, he rode, on the 6th of May, 1497, on horseback to that fortress, where he remained until the 8th [102], to inspect the damages done and order the restoration [103].

On Tuesday, 17th of October, 1497, he went to Ostia again,

98. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 178.

99. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 180-185 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 74.

100. The original brief is kept in the archives of the city.

101. Bussi, Istoria di Viterbo, pp. 286, seq.

102. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 365.

103. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1497. Mai 6.

mainly for the sake of a recreation, on a hunting excursion, and was absent from Rome until the 21st [104].

Burchard [105] reports still another visit to Ostia, from the 28th to the last day of January, 1499.

On the 25th of September, of that same year, he rode in his usual manner, in the saddle, accompanied by four cardinals, to the city of Nepi, on a recreation outing, among a community whose esteemed governor he had been when yet a cardinal. At the request of the people he, soon after, named as their lady governess, his niece Lucretia de Borgia, whom he also met here, together with her husband, the duke of Bisceglia, and her brother Jofre. He enjoyed his stay till the 1st of October, and a few days later rewarded his friendly reception by granting several exemptions to the city [106].

The Pontiff made several more journeys into his provinces, but we shall postpone their relation till the particulars may be better understood. May it suffice here to mention the excursion which he made from the 25th of September to the 3d of October, 1501, to his beloved Nepi, Cività Castellana and neighboring places, accompanied by the cardinals James Vera, Franciscus and Pedro Ludovico de Borgia and a small retinue [107].

From all these trips and rambles it is evident that the affection of pope Alexander VI for his subjects was fully reciprocated, and that the people appreciated his efforts for their welfare. Not only was he splendidly received and feasted in all cities and towns where he happened to visit, but almost each one of his returns to Rome was an occasion for public rejoicings. Not only was there in the City no sign of revolt during his whole administration, even though the rebel nobility

104. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 410.
105. Ibid., p. 507.
106. Burchard, ibid., t. II, p. 563.
107. Burchard, ibid., p. 164.

was being reduced to submission [108], but its citizens placed a filial confidence in his fatherly protection. When he was doubting whether he should leave Rome at the return of the French king from Naples, the Roman people, at the end of a consistory, surrounded him and begged him not to abandon them to the cruelty of the French, promising to help him with their families and all their means in preserving the liberty of the Church. The Pontiff requested them to consider well before making the sacrifice ; and, after taking all precautionary measures, finally decided, upon the advice of cardinals and ambassadors, to avoid meeting the King and to retire to Orvieto and Perugia. When, after a few days, he returned to Rome, the people received him with great manifestations of joy and acclamations, convinced that he had acted for their greater good [109].

If the common citizens of the Pontifical States, at the time, had been able to write the history of their Sovereign, instead of the hired scribes and flatterers of the lordly tyrants, who did so after his death, there would have been no need of gathering, at this late day, the facts that rehabilitate the slandered memory of pope Alexander VI.

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108. Raphael Volaterr., Maffei, Commentar. Urbanor... or Anthropologia, Lib. XXII, f° 262 ; Panvinio, Alex. VI, p. 341.

109. Card. Juliano de Caesarinis, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII 48, post f^m^ 24.

CHAPTER III.

Ferdinand of Naples opposes Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — UNJUST SALE OF CERVETRI, ETC.

Pope Alexander VI had hardly inaugurated his peaceable administration of the Pontifical States, and given tokens of a beneficial reign, when an event took place that caused much disturbance and would, but for the magnanimity of the Pontiff, have provoked disastrous wars.

Francesco Cibó had been invested by pope Innocent VIII with the castles of Cervetri, Monterano and Viano, the village of Rota, a portion of Ischia and the castle of Anguillara with its district. At the death of that Pope, Francesco retired to his brother-in-law, Pietro de' Medici, in Florence, and wished to sell those feudal estates. Induced by king Ferdinand of Naples, who lent all, or the greater part of, the purchase money [1], Gentil Virginio Orsini bought them, without the knowledge of the Pontiff, in the house of, and with the approval of, cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, on the 3d of September, 1492, for the sum of forty thousand ducats [2].

Some rumor of this sale reached the ears of the Pope, but he paid little attention to it, because he thought that it would never take place, since it could not be effected without the

1. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Cod. 12186. Fonds franç. Thomasi, Vie de Cesar Borgia, Trad. franç. f° 26 ; Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 343. Ammirato, Istorie Fiorent., t. V, p. 329 : Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 295.

2. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 393 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 325, n. ref. to Docum. in Archiv. Orsini, t. 97, F. n. 8 ; Sigismondo de' Conti, Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 94, who says that the price was 44,000 ducats. Archiv. della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. X, p. 269.

consent of the Sacred College and his own, transferring the feudal rights from the one to the other [3]. When, however, he learned that not only the places had been sold, but that Virginio had taken possession of them, he went before the cardinals assembled in consistory, and complained of Giuliano della Rovere, who had always been known to defend the rights of the Church, he said, and now had advised to take them from her ; and allowed a man, who was known to be her enemy, to grow stronger by the acquisition of those castles [4].

In fact, Gentil Virginio, the head of the Orsini family, had lately fought his suzerain, Innocent VIII and, at his death, had bitterly opposed the election of the present Pontiff and, on every occasion, antagonized the interests of the Holy See. The great reason of the Pope's opposition to the sale was, that Virginio, the former ally of the king of Naples, still was the captain general of his army, as count of Alba and of Tagliacozzo, his most powerful vassal, and the constable of his kingdom. It was to be expected that he would be a tool in the hands of the crafty king Ferdinand who, a perpetual enemy of his suzerains, the Popes, hated especially the two Borgia Pontiffs [5]. Virginio Orsini's increase of power was a new means for the King to keep in check and powerless pope Alexander VI, surrounded, now more than ever, by states and territories of the Roman barons, generally hostile to the Church.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Frederic, the King's second son, who came towards the end of the year to make obeisance to the Pope, in his father's name, did not succeed in concluding a desired confederacy with him, but that the Pontiff, well knowing the King's part in the purchase of Cervetri, com-

3. Sigismondo, ibid., pp. 55, 94, n. 12.
4. Id. ibid., p. 55.
5. Calixtus III and Alexander VI.

plained to the prince and stated that he never would consent to the illegal and invalid transaction. Frederic answered with accustomed deceitfulness that, if the transfer was in any way displeasing to His Holiness, it would be duly prevented ; but, a few days later, instead of being cancelled, it was renewed in Florence on the 2d and 3d of the following January [6].

Meanwhile Ferdinand of Naples was prepared for war against the Pope. He had, besides Virginio Orsini, won over to his side the Colonna and other papal vassals of the neighborhood ; his fleet was ready to assist the rebel cardinal Giuliano della Rovere in Ostia, and his troops were so posted that after a short march, they could assail the Vatican. Pope Alexander VI was virtually besieged in Rome and had no way of escape but over hostile territory [7]. This was, no doubt, the reason why he was in feverish hurry to repair and improve the fortification walls of the Leonine city.

It was the Pope's good fortune that Ludovico the Moro was an ardent, although not yet a declared, enemy of the king of Naples, whom he feared as a possible avenger of his ambitious designs upon Galeazzo Sforza, the legitimate duke of Milan, whose wife was the king's complaining niece. Ludovico saw with anxiety the king of Naples approach the Milanese territory, through his friendship with Piero de' Medici of Florence, who also favored the sale of the contested castles ;

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6. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 295, Ref. to Archiv. Orsini, t. 97, f. 8, 11.—In the Archivio Segreto Capitolino. Armadio XIV, vol. 67, 1493. Gennaio 2. Firenze, is this record ; " Francesco Cibó sold to Gentil Virginio Orsini di Aragona, count of Alba and Tagliacozzo and captain general of king Ferdinand, the castles of Cervetri, Monterano and Viano, the village of the Rota, a portion of Ischia and the baths of Stigliano, for the price of 30,000 gold ducats. Bernardino... notary. " Ibid, : 1493. Gennaio 3. Firenze : " Francesco Cibó, nephew of Innocent VIII sold to G. Virginio etc. the castle of Anguillara with its district and the appertaining rights, for the price of 15,000 gold ducats. Bernardino etc. " Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. X, p. 269.

7. Balan, ubi supra, Refer. to a Dispatch of Boccacio to Ercole, duke of Ferrara, of Jan. 20, 1493.

and, consequently, he was disposed to co-operate with the Pope in this difficulty. He offered, through his brother, cardinal Ascanio, to send to him five hundred men at arms, for his protection, and to negotiate a league between him, the duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice. The Pontiff, however, to avoid an open rupture, declined the tender of these troops [8].

Resolved to preserve an honorable peace, he had proposed to prince Frederic of Naples to settle the contest by way of justice ; that, namely, the king of Naples should induce Virginio Orsini to deliver the newly purchased fiefs into the hands of trustworthy men, who should examine and decide whether he had a right to buy them without the consent of His Holiness. King Ferdinand had afterwards answered that Virginio was willing to do so, and would abide by the award ; nay more, that he was now sending his chancellor, Bernardino, to arrange the surrender. The Pontiff was highly pleased by the reply and considered all disturbances as being adjusted and terminated [9].

Although surrounded with enemies, he contented himself with calling into Rome his condottieri of the Orsini family and commanding the gates to be watched [10]. He had ordered one hundred men at arms to watch on the outside of the City, but, upon the objections of Virginio Orsini, not to retard the expected deposit of the castles, he cancelled the order.

The Pontiff, relying on the promise of king Ferdinand, had ever since been looking for his chancellor, Bernardino, to arrive in Rome and draw up the papers for the surrender of the castles ; but, on the 26th of January, Bernardino had not

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8. Valori, Florentine ambassador in his letter of the 26th of Jan., 1493, ap. Burchard, Diar., t II, pp. 622, 624 ; where Thuasne's synopsis is deceiving.

9. Id. Dispatch of Jan. 22d, ap Burchard, ibid., p. 626.

10. Id. Disp. of the 22d of Jan., ap. Eumdem t. II, p. 625 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exit. Vol. 524, Jan. 31, 1493.

made his appearance yet, nor was he known to have left Naples [11].

On the 29th of that month, Ferdinand directed his ambassador, Aloys de Palladinis, to answer, in case that the Pope should inquire about his chancellor, that the King had no business with those castles, that Virginio was not his subject in that matter, and that he disliked to interfere, lest he should be deceived again as in the case of his daughter, the queen of Hungary [12]. After more promises [13] and more evasions, Ferdinand admitted at last, in the beginning of April, his calculated deceit, which he could conceal no longer ; for, when he had vainly sent the abbot Roger to wrest from the Pope his acquiescence to the sale, he protested saying that " he could not, " that is, would not, " prevail upon Virginio Orsini to give up his resolution to possess those castles " [14].

During all this time pope Alexander VI had constantly insisted with the king of Naples upon the peaceable understanding which he had proposed. He had refused help from Ludovico the Moro, and shown himself averse, at first, to any warlike league, recommended to him by the duke of Milan and his brother, cardinal Ascanio Sforza. On the 20th of the month of January he solemnly protested that he was free of any league or anything of that kind, that his only object was to preserve peace and be a good father to all [15]. When. however, the dissimulation of the Neapolitan king became more and more evident, and his real intentions manifest, the Pontiff felt obliged to accept Ludovico the Moro's services, to negotiate a defensive coalition of Milan, Venice and Rome.

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11. Valori, Letter of the 26th of Jan. 1493, ap. Burchard. Diar., t II, p. 627.

12. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II. P. I, p. 261.

13. Valori, Dispatch of Febr. 16th, ibid., p. 632 ; Trinchera, Cod. Aragon., t. II. P. I, p. 358.

14. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V p. 295, Ref. to a Dispatch of ambassador Trotti, of the 17th of April, 1493.

15. Valori, Letter of the 20th of Jan., 1493, ap. Burchard, ibid. p. 623.

The Florentine ambassador at the papal court assures us [16] that the Pope himself was speaking of it with the Venetian envoy, and had good hopes of success. On the 8th of March, negotiations were sufficiently advandced to allow the Pope to state to Valori [17] that, till this day, he had not come to any conclusion, but that it lay in his power to conclude the league; " telling me clearly that the Venetians, in their council of the ' Pregai, ' had resolved to enter into an accord with him. "

The articles of a defensive alliance were finally agreed upon, for a term of twenty-five years, by the Sovereign Pontiff, the Seigniory of Venice, Ludovico the Moro as regent of the duchy of Milan and as duke of Bari, with the consent of France, on the 21st of April, 1493. Ercole, duke of Ferrara joined it after a few days, and so did the marquis of Mantua and the city of Siena [18]. It was signed in Rome the following day [19], and there published on the 25th of the same month of April [20].

On the day before its publication, Ludovic the Moro explained, before the ambassadors at his court, how the new treaty was solely intended as a mutual defence of the territories of the contracting parties, and especially as a protection of the Pontiff against Ferdinand of Naples and Piero de' Medici [21]. The duke of Milan, considering the friendship of those two princes as threatening to himself, was willing to send to the Pope any number of available troops ; but the stipulations of the league were that the Venetians should grant

16. Dispatch of the 16th of February, ap. Burchard, Ibid., p. 639.

17. Letter of that date, ibid. p. 632.

18. Bembo, Histor. Venetae, Lib. I, p. 32 ; Ammirato, Istorie Fiorent., t. V, p. 330 ; Buser, Beziehungen der Mediceer, p. 315 ; Muratori, Ant. Estenses, vol. II, p. 257 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 329.

19. Daru, Hist. de la Républ. de Venise, t. III, p. 239.

20. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 67; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493, no. XXVII.

21. Ammirato, ubi supra ; Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 296, Ref. to a dispatch of ambassador Trotti, dated Apr. 24, 1493.

to the Pontiff two hundred men-at-arms, in case of his being molested ; yet, if he should assail others, they would be obliged to nothing ; and should the Turks cause trouble to the Seigniory, the Pontiff would be obliged to deliver Zizim, the Grand Turk's brother, into their hands, to help them in their war [22].

The duke of Milan had, already in the year 1492, been enticing Charles VIII, king of France, to press his claims upon the kingdom of Naples, and, on the occasion of this new league exhorted the Pope to favor his designs against king Ferdinand. The Roman envoy of the duke of Ferrara, Boccacio, repeatedly warned Ludovico, through Ercole, his father-in-law, to be careful, because, he said, the Pontiff would not admit his views. Indeed, pope Alexander VI did not wish the ruin of the King, but was satisfied with a treaty that would secure his own rights [23].

The league was simultaneously published in Rome, Venice and Milan, on St. Mark's day, the 25th of April, 1493. In Rome, its articles were read at the church of St. Mark in the presence of the Pope, who granted a plenary indulgence, in token of joy at the important event [24].

It is easily understood that the news of the league created a deep commotion at the Neapolitan court. Sansovino relates [25] that the disloyal Colonna offered themselves, united with the Orsini, to capture Rome, but the King was shrewd enough to interpose, and not to precipitate an open war, of which he could not foresee a favorable issue. For fear of their impetuosity, he ordered Prospero and Fabricius Colonna, who were his " condottieri ", as also Virginio Orsini, to move to their fiefs in the kingdom, and posted his captain Trivulzio,

22. Domen. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, vol. VII, p. 142 ; Bembo, Histor., Venet. Lib. I, p. 32.

23. Boccacio. ap. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 297 ; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 399.

24. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 67.

25. Casa Orsina, p. 117.

with eighty squadrons of soldiers in the provinces of Abruzzi [26]. At the same time he entered into closer connection with Piero de' Medici and proposed to him to hire at their common pay the duke of Urbino and the lord of Camerino. The Florentine council promised him to keep in readiness their troops, whom they increased with two hundred men at arms [27]. King Ferdinand had also a considerable fleet in readiness at the mouth of the Tiber.

As king Ferdinand, so did pope Alexander VI and his colleagues prepare for the worst. The Pope's captain general was Nicholas, count of Pitigliano, and his other captains or " condottieri " were Julius and Ursinus Orsini, Nicholas, Gaetano, Gisbert and Galeazzo de Corregio, Bernardino de Tornacellis, John Baptist de' Conti, Roderic de Borgia, Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro ; Angelo Farnese, Bartholomew Serra, William Raymund de Borgia [28]. Infessura adds Fracasso de San Severino and Macrinus Savelli [29] Several squadrons of Milanese troops had arrived in the Pontifical States at the beginning of July [30], and we know from Ammirato [31] that Venice had hired Pandolfo Malatesta and recruited soldiers all over Romagna.

The object of the League was, however, obtained without any bloody encounter. Already on the 24th of April, 1493, king Ferdinand wrote a long and pressing letter to Ludovico the Moro, a model from beginning to end of nicely told falsehoods, but in which he betrays his fear of dangers from within Italy and from without, " de qua da li monti et de la ",

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26. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 328 ; Trinchera, Codice Aragon. t. II. P. II, p. 40.

27. Ammirato, Istorie Fiorent., t. V, p. 33.

28. Rome, Archivio de Stato, Mandati 1492-1494, fiis respective 31, 39vo, 45, 46vo, 47vo, 58vo, 76vo, 78vo.

29. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 82.

30. Trinchera, Codice Aragon., vol. II. P. II, p. 331.

31. Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 331.

and proposes, instead of the partial league, one of all the Italian States [32].

He had once despatched two envoys, who were to expose to Virginio Orsini his true and frank opinion and the perils to be encountered, should he refuse the Pope's demand ; and on the 3d of May he announced to the Pontiff that Virginio had submitted to the King's direction ; and he now requested him to settle the difference by judicial process or by compromise. On the same day he similarly wrote to Venice [33].

These assurances of king Ferdinand were hardly truthful, since he asserts, on the 14th, that he had afterwards sent Marino Brancaccio, then a deputation from Florence, and that later still he had directed the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, to make Virginio submit [34].

These and several more measures taken by the King prove that he was overcome with dread of threatened evils, especially since the Pontiff declined his request of a general Italian league, and of a family alliance with Naples, so earnestly and repeatedly recommended to him [35]. In his distress the depraved old King resorted to a shameful warfare of lies and slander on pope Alexander VI, as he had waged before on Innocent VIII.

ARTICLE II. — FIRST CALUMNIES AGAINST ALEXANDER VI.

On June the 7th, 1493, he made complaints to the Seigniory of Venice, saying that he was treated unjustly by the present Pope as he had been by his predecessors, wherefore it was no wonder if he was favorable to Virginio ; that the Pope

32. Trinchera, Codice Aragon., t II. P. I, p. 376.
33. Id. ibid., P. II, pp. 7, 8.
34. Ibid., pp. 23, 24 ; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent,, t. V, p. 331.
35. Trinchera, ubi supra, P. I, pp. 320, 325, 331, 355, 358, P. II, pp. 8, 24.

was making threats every day in Rome and was constantly gathering troops against him [36].

On that same day he wrote a lengthy and fierce letter to the kings of Spain. He assured them that, while he has written nothing but the truth, the Pope and his court misinform them. Against the will of the majority of the Sacred College, the Pope intends to create thirteen new cardinals, with the double purpose of making money, the smallest price being set at twenty thousand ducats ; and of dominating the present and the future papal governments. Those who write to Spain, write for their own advancement, what the Pope dictates to them, and nothing else. Dishonesty could not be greater in Rome, where the only preoccupation is to prepare war and arms. When the Pope ascended the throne, there was the most profound peace among all the Powers of Italy ; but, following his natural inclination, he proposed the formation of a league at his second or third interview with the ambassador of Venice. He did the same with the envoy of Milan, through the medium of cardinal Ascanio, upon whose advice he has succeeded in bringing all Italy under arms. He hires troops and tries to bribe with money our " condottieri, " the Colonna and the Orsini ; and, because cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was opposed to his designs, he sought to arrest him, from the time that our son, prince Frederic, was in Rome to make the act of obeisance ; but the cardinal was prudent enough to escape two or three days before his detention was to be made. Unable to win over the Colonna and the Orsini, the Pope, to cause disturbances, took occasion of the sale of certain territories made by Francesco Cibó to Virginio Orsini, which had been promised and arranged already at the time of Innocent, and now had been secretly made in Rome, without our knowledge : a sale of no con-

36. Ibid. P. II, p. 40.

sequence, that did not need the consent of the Pope, who had no right on the lands, although Anguillara was considered to be a fief of the Holy See. The Pope complained of us, as if we had lent him the purchase money ; which was not true, nor did we ever dream of lending it to him. We have tried to settle the difficulty by process of justice or compromise, but after succeeding with one party we were opposed by an other. Virginio was stubborn, but was encouraged to be so by the Pope himself, who wanted to find an excuse. Continuing in the hatred of Calixtus, he was determined to attack us. To avert his evil designs, we have constantly tried to do his pleasure. One day he proposed to us a family alliance, and we were perfectly satisfied to concede to one of his sons one of our daughters, together with the duchy of Squillace ; but at last we found out that the negotiations were all a deceit, intended to better entice the Venetians to the conclusion of a league with him. He always was and is full of wicked schemes and dissimulation. To procure money for use against us, he lately had intended to create thirteen cardinals, in order to extract from them close to three hundred thousand ducats ; but in this he has not succeeded yet, because the Sacred College considers it as a most exorbitant undertaking. He has offered to the Colonna a very important estate, of a better sort than Anguillara and Cervetri, in order to separate them from us. He has offered to Virginio to let him have the castles and give him better pay, if he only be willing to leave us ; so that he may more freely fall upon us and invade our kingdom. He has invited the duke of the Rhine, " Duca del Rino, " [37], to ask the investiture of Naples, and allowed him to assume the tittle of King [38]. Together with Ludovico, the duke of Bari, he has managed that the

37. Here is meant, no doubt, René, duke of Lorraine.

38. The falsity of this assertion is evident to one who has read. Ch. I, of Liv. VII, of Memoires de Philippe de Commines.

king of France has stipulated in the treaty of Perpignan, that no marriage shall take place between our house and that of the king of Castille ; and thus he seeks everywhere to cause us damage and dishonor. From this your Majesties, of whom we are a brother, may judge how little he respects you. The kings of Spain have been deceived by him, and have written to him, so that he glories in their letter. Your Majesties should not believe letters received from Rome, not even from your ambassadors, who expect dignities and hats from the Pope. The Pope leads such a life, that he is abhorred by every one, in spite of the See which he occupies ; and cares for nothing save to elevate his children by all means, right and wrong. He is anxious to be engaged in war ; for, from the beginning of his papacy, he has done nothing else than seeking and causing trouble. In the case of the queen of Hungary he has secretly done all the harm he could. To revolutionize Italy, he has tried to attract the Sienese to his plans ; and Rome is today filled with soldiers more than with priests. When he walks through Rome, he has squadrons of fully armed men around him ; his thoughts are all turned to war against us, not only stirring up the prince of Salerno and other rebels in France but also every broken stick in Italy. The Spanish kings should know that we are in need, and intervene with the Pope, whom they should not allow to impose on them, for everywhere he goes to work with dissimulation and deceit : it is his nature. To make money he sells even the smallest offices and benefices. In the presence of the people he has made the most terrible threats against us, although we behave with such meekness towards him, that we are blamed for it by the Florentines, and in danger of losing Virginio Orsini, whom we berate for not surrendering to him. He has in an underhand manner encouraged Virginio to be stubborn, till the league was concluded ; and he has fomented the disturbances of our city of Aquila. In

closing we assure you that the thoughts and designs of the Pope towards us could not be worse. His attendants will tyrannize the Church, while Rome will become tired of soldiers, especially of those from Milan ; and you are wise enough to see what fruit the Church of God will reap from it all. Whatever we have said is absolutely true, and matters could not be worse. We could not avoid war, for even the brutes have the right of self-defence. All Italy is in arms, and we fear that the Pope will invite the Turks against us, as we have already an inkling of it. May Your Majesties attend to the Pope's conduct, and not allow yourselves to be misled by letters from Rome or from the Pope himself, who is constantly at work with fraudulent machinations. Meanwhile we are prepared for war. Given in Capua, the 7th of June, 1493. King Ferdinand Jo. Pontano [39].

Such is the epistle of king Ferdinand, of which we have given the whole substance, in order that an intelligent reader may judge for himself of its historical and moral value. We consider this paper written in fury of desperation, as the worthy counterpart of the anonymous stupid pamphlet exposed in our Second Volume. It has equally remained a poisonous source, from which the enemies of pope Alexander VI have freely drawn to corroborate many of their accusations. Thus Gregorovius relates that king Ferdinand, " although covered with blood and given to all vices, called the Pontiff's life abominable " [40]. Others quote the King to prove the Pope's pretended simony ; others believe him and charge Alexander with other crimes. And yet, what faith can be put in a frantic indictment, the specific allegations of which are either unknown to History or directly contradicted by it ?

39. Trinchera, Cod. Aragonese, t. II. P. II, pp. 41-48.

40. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 329 ; Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 63.

If it is true that the censures of the wicked are equivalent to the praises of the good, should not the King's accusations rather redound to the glory of the Pontiff ? for, what kind of a man was king Ferdinand I ? De Magri [41] sketches him according to well-known facts : " His origin was not only illegitimate, but so disgraceful that his father has never been willing to reveal the mystery. He captured at a banquet and let perish in prison those who had several times tried to shake off his yoke ; and, through cruelty and perfidy, secured a domination more and more detested. He was not gifted with any of the qualities that make great men, with no generosity, no nobility of heart, but he was of consummate prudence, and seldom failed in his plans. He obtained what he wanted, no matter what the means might be. He reigned a long time, but utterly abhorred ". He was very immoral. Guicciardini [42] and Bembo [43] are no less severe on him.

The calumnies of the king of Naples, just noted, were not the first which he or his accomplices wrote to the court of Spain. Already on the 27th of March, John Lopez, bishop of Perugia, answered a letter of Enrique Enriquez, the Majordomo of king Ferdinand of Spain, to correct the wrong opinion, which he had formed of pope Alexander VI, upon information received from " invidious and malicious informants ", such as the cardinal of St. Peter's Bands, a rebel in favor of Ferdinand of Naples. " Rest assured ", the bishop says, " that the life, the intentions and the sagacity of the Pontiff are different from what your letter represents them to be. I tell you, Señor, that of the other Popes, whom you mention, not one had a mind so exalted, nor was one so highly respected as pope Alexander, for his long experience, his intelligence and his activity. Some have tried and still

41. Ap. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 634.

42. Storia d'Ital. Lib. I, Cap. 2, p. 52.

43. Hist. Venetae, Lib. II, p. 37

try to malign him, to lessen and depreciate the credit that is due to him ; they fear him, but they have no reason for fear ". He then speaks of his kindness and charity even towards poor widows, and tells of his great restorations at Santa Maria Maggiore, at the Palace, at St. Peter's portico, on Campo Formio and in many other places [44].

On the 12th of June, five days after Ferdinand of Naples had so bitterly denounced the Pontiff at the court of Spain, he tried to deceive him, by announcing that Virginio Orsini was willing to give up for sequestration the castles under dispute [45], and it was less than a month later, when he ordered his ambassador in Rome to go and profusely thank the Pope for his usual kindness and the marks of his good will and charity towards him [46]. In the meantime he had obtained his wish, to ill dispose his royal cousin towards the Sovereign Pontiff.

The Spanish monarch, who had not made yet his formal obeisance to the new Pope, hurried his envoy, Diego Lopez de Haro, to Rome, where he should, together with his ordinary ambassadors, perform that duty ; and express his dissatisfaction with the warlike preparations against the king of Naples. Raynaldi admits [47], from Infessura, that Diego spoke quite unbecomingly to the Pope and, in the name of his King, threatened to lay hand on ecclesiastical benefices ; but Pastor, more sensible, refuses to believe that such language was spoken at the solemn function. There can be no doubt, however, that hard words were passed about this time, when we hear Ferdinand of Naples say that he is delighted with the conflict, " conflictu, " which took place with the Pontiff in the presence of the Spanish orators [48].

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44. See Document 150.
45. Trinchera, Codice Aragon., t. II. P. II, p. 56.
46. Id. ibid., p. 96.
47. Annal. Eccles. Ad an. 1493, no. XXXII.
48. Trinchera, ubi supra, p. 149.

More important is the expresion of his pleasure at the conversation of his ambassador with the envoy of Spain [49] ; from which we may infer that Diego was willing to do all in his power and help the Neapolitan king in averting the dangers with which he was beset. On the 15th of July, Ferdinand thanks the kings of Spain for their letters sent to Rome and the services rendered by their ambassadors, especially by Don Diego Lopez [50]. Moreover, all historians agree with Çurita [51] in saying that it was through the intervention of Spain that pope Alexander VI restored his favor to both the king of Naples and to Virginio Orsini.

ARTICLE III. — SETTLEMENT OF THE DIFFICULTIES, IN REGARD TO CERVETRI.

The Pontiff had concluded the league with Milan and Venice when he saw that Virginio Orsini and Ferdinand of Naples were decided not to accept his proposal of testing by process of law the validity of the sale of Cervetri and Angujllara ; and the King well knew that submission to this reasonable demand would save him from being attacked by the league. But he had become aware of still another and more dreaded danger. Since the end of the month of May, there had spread all over Italy a vague rumor of the intention of Charles VIII, king of France, to claim, as due him, the kingdom of Naples. In the summer of the year 1493, he sent a special envoy, Peron de Basche, to the principal cities of Italy, in order to announce his design and to request their assistance or at least their neutrality. On the 28th of June, the Seigniory of Venice informed Ferdinand, and advised him to make peace with the Pope, because the French envoy was

49. Ibid.
50. Id. Ibid., p. 152.
51. Historia di Don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 22, f° 27.

to request from His Holiness the investiture of the Neapolitan kingdom [52] ; and, at the suggestion of Venice, Ludovico the Moro also notified him, on the same day [53]. No wonder if the King now became sincere and anxious, not only to be reconciled with the Pope, but to secure his good will and protection through some alliance with him.

The Pontiff had refused the marriage of his young nephew, Jofre, with Sancia, the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria ; but the Spanish ambassadors had prevailed upon him, and obtained his willingness to consider a new proposal of marriage between the Neapolitan house of Aragon and the Borgia house [54]. Consequently, on the 5th, and more insistingly on the 11th of July, Ferdinand proposed the union of his daughter Lucretia with cardinal Cesar de Borgia, who would, already then, have had to give up his ecclesiastical career ; but to this the Pope would not listen [55]. As a substitute, the King offered again Sancia of Aragon as bride to Jofre de Borgia [56], and soon looked for ways and means to render the bargain as little expensive and as profitable as possible, suggesting that the Pontiff endow his nephew with the cities of Benevento, Terracina and Pontecorvo, unless he be willing to give them to the King himself [57]. He was ready to give a marriage dot of six thousand only, instead of twelve thousand ducats as he had offered before, and as the Pope required [58]. The principality of Squillace and the county of Cariati, as Sancia's dowry, were agreed upon, but he objected to paying a yearly ten thousand ducats, as his share of Jofre's engagement as their common " condottiere " [59].

52. Cherrier, Hist. de Charlès VIII, t. I, p. 357. Ref. to Reg. Secret. du Sénat, no. 175.
53. Ibid. Ref. to Disp. etc., aux Archiv. de San Fedele, in Milan.
54. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 336.
55. Trinchera, Codice Aragon., t. II. P. II, pp. 107, 137.
56. Ibid., p. 137.
57. Ibid., pp. 141, 181.
58. Ibid., p. 162.
59. Ibid., p. 166.

As an adjunct to the transaction, Ferdinand was also willing, on the 26th of July, to recommend cardinal Cesar de Borgia, for benefices that would become vacant in the kingdom, to a yearly amount of four thousand ducats [60].

All these negotiations had been conducted by the King's second son, prince Frederic, to whom his father wrote, on the 3d of August, 1493, that he approved all the concessions made by him, and, in particular, the one of Jofre's engagement and pay, as " condottiere ". He was happy, he said, that the conditions of the marriage contract had all been drawn up, and he was not expecting a copy for their ratification [61]. The marriage, or rather the nuptials, of Jofre de Borgia with Sancia of Aragon took place in Rome on the 16th of August, prince Frederic acting as proxy for the bride.

From the King's letter of the 3d of that month, we learn that all difficulties in regard to Virginio Orsini had also been overcome. Already on the 28th of June, Ferdinand had begged the Pope to have the sale of Anguillara and Cervetri settled by mutual agreement, rather than by process of law ; but Virginio, in spite of the King and of the Florentines, preferred the latter way [62]. On the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th of July, Ferdinand gave positive orders to prince Frederic to proceed to Rome at once and arrange the controversy with the Pope, avoiding above all to give him any reason for dissatisfaction ; for he had learned from the ambassadors of Milan and of Venice, that, if the affairs of Virginio were not settled soon, their principals would commence war against him [63]. By his letter of the 11th he admits that the demands of the Pontiff and his arguments in their favor were not unreasonable ; that now it had become necessary to effec-

60. Ibid., p. 181.
61. Ibid., p. 198.
62. Trinchera, ubi supra, pp. 82, 88.
63. Ibid., pp. 113, 116. 121, 129.

tually deposit the castles into the hands of a man satisfactory to both parties ; and that, if Virginio was not satisfied, pressure must be exerted on him [64]. According to the plans of the Spanish ambassador, the cause should be decided at the tribunal of the Rota by non-suspected judges, and ample guaranty should be given for the execution of the judgment. Should after a certain time no sentence be pronounced and the castles not returned to Virginio, the king of Naples should have a right to occupy Benevento. This last clause was, however, afterwards modified, in spite of Ferdinand of Naples [65].

A few days later the King wrote to prince Frederic again, directing him, should the Pope be willing to settle for money, to conclude the bargain, because peace must be obtained ; and he himself will lend ten thousand ducats to make the payment, and even fifteen thousand, if the Florentines should also procure a like sum, while Virginio himself should afford the remainder [66]. From this it appears that the Pope had, already then, set his price.

Prince Frederic and Diego Lopez together with the envoys of Florence finally succeeded in conquering the obstinacy of Virginio Orsini, by convincing him that he could not but lose before a court of justice, the right being against him [67]; and thus forfeit all further opportunity of retaining the castles. On the 24th of July, Virginio and cardinal Giuliano della Rovere went to Rome and took supper with the Pope ; and, as a token of reconciliation and peace, the guards that had been placed at the gates of the City were withdrawn [68]. Indeed, an agreement had already been made, according to which the Pontiff was to receive the sum of thirty-five thousand ducats and to let Virginio retain the territories invalidly

64. Ibid., p. 135.
65. Ibid., pp. 135, 176.
66. Ibid., pp. 156, 176, 182.
67. See Document 151.
68. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 84.

acquired [69]. A formal deposit for sequestration was made into the hands of the two cardinals, Giuliano della Rovere and Giovanni de Borgia, in the presence of the notary public, Camillo de Beneimbene, and other witnesses, on the 16th of August, 1493 [70]. Finally, on the following day, the Pontiff annulled the instrument of sequestration, by a " Motu proprio, " and ordered the depositaries to restore to Gentil Virginio the castles and territories under litigation ; and in case they should fail to do so, he allowed Virginio himself to take possession of them [71]. By other letters of the same date, he exempted Virginio from the oath of fidelity, the census and other charges, to which Francesco Cibó had been obliged by pope Innocent VIII [72].

Still on the same August the 17th, the Pontiff absolved, at the request of the king of Naples [73] and of the Florentine republic, Virginio Orsinio and all his adherents from all ecclesiastical censures which they might have incurred on the occasion of the late misunderstanding [74].

There are historians who say that pope Alexander VI sold the castles of Anguillara and Cervetri and the other places, not to Virginio, but to his bastard son, Carolo Orsini. This is an error, originating perhaps from the fact that, also on the 17th of August, the Pontiff enabled the latter, by a bull of legitimation [75], to receive any properties to be donated or to be willed to him by his father. In fact, Carolo was, on

69. Trinchera, ubi supra, pp. 205, 223 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t V, 299 ; Auct. passim. Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 357, mistakes in setting the price at 40,000 ducats, and more so the Bibliotheca Vaticana Latina, Cod. 8586, when asserting, on folio 1 verso, that the Jurisdiction of the county of Anguillara was bought from pope Alexander VI by Giordano Orsini, for the price of 52,000 scudi, paid by his father-in-law, the king of Naples.

70. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 92vo.

71. See Document 152.

72. See Document 151.

73. Trinchera, Codice Aragon., t. II, P. II, p. 179.

74. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 98.

75. See Document 153.

the following 8th of November, placed in possession of the county of Anguillara, by Benedict Castellani della Fara, an agent of Gentil Virginio ; under the reservation, however, of its usufruct during the remainder of the donor's life [76].

As soon as the Pope had given his consent to the marriage of Jofre de Borgia, the shrewd King was in an ecstacy of joy. He wrote to his ambassador in Rome to thank the Pontiff a thousand times, in his name [77] ; and when the verbal accord was made to settle the difficulty with Virginio Orsini, he expressed, on the 12th of August, his supreme satisfaction, " because all matters were now well adjusted and arranged "; and, congratulating himself on his political success, " many ", he added, " will be disillusioned and laughed at, because of the failure of their wicked deeds and advices. Messire Peron de Basche "—an ambassador of the French king to the Roman court—" has spoken to the Sovereign Pontiff with much haughtiness, but the Pope has answered him with prudence ; and when he shall have returned to France, thoughts will change considerably and the whole crowd will take counsel on matters about which they were deceived " [78].

King Ferdinand was thus highly satisfied with the answer of pope Alexander VI given to the French envoy, who asked the investiture of Naples for his king Charles VIII ; and well had he reason to be, for the Pontiff had exhorted de Basche not to attempt the undertaking and not to bring new sufferings upon Italy, but to rather let the Holy See interfere and preserve peace [79]. Yet, hardly had he secured his reconciliation

76. Archivio della R. Società Roman. di Storia Patria, vol. X, p. 269, " Pergamene della famiglia Anguillara. "

77. Trinchera, ubi supra, p. 200.

78. Ibid., p. 205. The Pontiff is accused of disloyalty to his league with Venice and Milan, on account of his reconciliation with Ferdinand of Naples and his protection of that King against Charles VIII of France ; but he violated not a single condition, and rather acted according to the spirit of that alliance. Cfr. Cerri, Borgia ossia Alessandro VI. Papa, vol. I, pp. 166, 180, n. 2.

79. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 298.

with the Pope, when he, already on the 16th of August, complained of him, pretending that his answer should have been more firm [80]. He wanted him to be not only a condescending neighbor, but also a protector and a warlike ally against the French. With this object in view, he had also of late urged the Pontiff to enter into a league with himself and the Florentines. To consent to such a request would have been, on the part of His Holiness, a felony towards his confederates of Milan and Venice. He refused, therefore, alleging the preservation of his honor and dignity ; but the King, who had not received from him but general words of good will, accused him of violating a given promise [81]. Ferdinand did not insist, however ; and, ere long, gave thanks again for what he had actually obtained from the indulgent Pontiff [82].

He also thanked him in particular, on the 9th of September, for the pains he was taking to reconcile Ludovico the Moro with the Neapolitan king and to withhold him from inciting Charles VIII to the conquest of Naples ; with which, he says, we have been especially well pleased.

On the 16th of that month, he ordered again his ambassador in Rome to speak to His Holiness of the great satisfaction which he had procured him by his late brief, whereby he had confirmed his former investiture, remitted the unpaid tribute [83] and promised to him and to the Florentines protection and defense, in case of attack upon their States ; and again he thanked him for it, on the 11th of October [84].

All these demonstrations of gratitude were but cheap means in the hands of the King, to urge the Pontiff, not only to win over Ludovico and to avert Charles VIII from his expedition against Naples by friendly arguments and persuasion, but also to proclaim himself an enemy of Ferdinand's enemies,

80. Trinchera, ubi supra, p. 211.
81. Ibid., p. 209.
82. Ibid., p. 245.
83. Card. Caesarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin.; Cod. XXXIII, 48, f° 24.
84. Trinchera, ibid., pp. 233, 245, 271.

so as to declare war on France. When the Pope declined to shoulder his burden, his thanks gave way to bitter complaints, declaring that he did not attend to his sacred duty that of preventing war and preserving peace in Italy. He himself continued to uphold the irreconciliable cardinal Giuliano della Rovere in his rebellion at the fortress of Ostia, and one of his hired captains, a disloyal vassal of the Church, Fabritius Colonna, was holding from the Pontiff the cardinal's fortified monastery of Grottaferrata. The Pope asked his help to recover those places, but the ungrateful King, instead of granting his equitable request, by speaking a word in his favor, sharply accused him of thus seeking new occasions for dissension. He charged him also with violating his agreement, because the Pontiff, discovering his lasting deceit and complots with displeased cardinals, prudently postponed the surrender of his nephew, Jofre de Borgia, into his hands [85].

In fact, king Ferdinand died, on the 25th of January, 1494, a real enemy of pope Alexander VI [86]. If the Pontiff continued to try and prevent the invasion of Charles VIII, he did so for the sake of justice towards Ferdinand's heir and for the safety and peace of all Italy.

Ammirato relates [87] that on the very day of Ferdinand's demise, his oldest son assumed the title of king of Naples, under the name of Alfonso II, and that Virginio Orsini, who, at the settlement of his differences with the Pope, had, from an enemy, become a friend, removed all bitterness inherited by the new King from his father ; and that, towards the end of the following month of March, he solemnly entered Rome at the head of three hundred horse, and smoothed away all friction that might yet exist between the Pope and Alfonso II.

85. Trinchera, ibid., pp. 378, 381.

86. " Obiit sine cruce, sine luce, sine Deo ", as Infessura and Burchard report, ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1494, nis. I, II and Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 89.

87. Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 340.

CHAPTER IV.

Charles VIII intends to conquer Naples.

ARTICLE I. — INSTIGATORS OF THE DESIGN.

The restoration of harmony between Alfonso II and pope Alexander VI was stimulated by the active preparations in France for the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, which had its origin in the ambition of Ludovico the Moro, regent of the duchy of Milan. This crafty prince had resolved not only to retain the administration of the duchy, but to seize by any possible means the rights and title of his nephew, Giangaleazzo Sforza, the legitimate duke. Isabella of Aragon, Giangaleazzo's wife, had repeatedly complained of Ludovico to her father, now Alfonso II, who, consequently, had incited king Ferdinand to admonish the usurper at first, and afterwards to prepare war against him. Meanwhile, Ludovico was secretly looking to France for assistance in his evil designs.

Already on the 11th of April, 1491, he had been confirmed by the French king, Charles VIII, in the possession of Genoa [1]; according to a dispatch of Agnolo Niccolini, Florentine envoy in Milan, dated the 6th of January, 1492, he made with Charles VIII a treaty, by which the French monarch bound himself to keep him at the head of the Milanese government [2], and on the 5th of May, still at the time of pope Innocent VIII, it was no secret any more that a defensive league was concluded in France, particularly directed against the Pope and

1. Coria, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 472; Buser, Beziehungen der Mediceer, s. 286.

2. Buser, ibid., s. 298.

king Ferdinand [3]. Then already Ludovico had announced an early rupture with Naples [4].

When, in the fall of the year 1493, he became aware of the warlike preparations of Ferdinand of Naples for the defence of the duke Giangaleazzo [5], he sent to France a solemn embassy, consisting of Galeazzo Visconti, the count of Cajazzo and his envoy in France, Carlo Balbiano, count of Belgioioso. These ambassadors approached by the King's principal counselors, trying to gain their favor by making great promises and offering money lavishly. They persuaded especially William Briçonnet, then the general superintendent of the revenues from the province of Languedoc, and Stephen de Vesc, formerly a body servant of the King and now Seneschal de Beaucaire [6], who was bribed with a sum of eight thousand ducats [7]. They then went before the King in Paris, who was in the company of his advisers, and presented to him an autograph letter of Ludovico, who invited him to the conquest of the beautiful kingdom of Naples, asserted his rights to its possession, flattered his vanity by the prospect of the title of King of the Romans and of Emperor of Constantinople, exposed to him the facility of the undertaking, and promised substantial aid [8].

The frivolous King was easily convinced. He called together, in the city of Tours, the three estates of France, to whom he declared that he was resolved to go to war against the Turks and, to facilitate the enterprise, he would reconquer,

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3. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 293 ; De Magri, ap. Corio, ubi supra, p. 315 ; Buser, ibid., s. 304.

4. Balan, ibid., p. 294, Ref. to a letter of Trotti, ambass. of Ferrara in Milan, of the 19th of September ; Domen. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I, t. VII, p. 319.

5. Bembo, Hist. Venetae, Lib. II, p. 37.

6. Ph. de Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. II, p. 14 ; De Magri, ap. Corio, Stor. di Milano, vol. III, p. 512.

7. Balan, ubi supra, p. 303 ; vol. II, p. 97.

8. Corio, Storio di Milano, vol. III, p. 471 ; Commines, ubi supra, p 14 ; Kervyn de Lettenhove, ibid., p. 95.

on his way, the kingdom of Naples, upon which he pretended to have an exclusive right [9].

The expedition was, however, opposed by the French nobility, among whom was the historian, Philippe de Commines, who remarks that the King was provided with neither good sense, money nor anything else needed for the undertaking; that those who led him, the Seneschal de Beaucaire and Briçonnet, were of low rank and of no experience whatever, while the king of Naples was provided with wise men, experienced in war, rich and in possession of the territory [10]. Besides those disadvantages, there still was the uncertainty of the dispositions of the Pontiff and of other Italian States regarding the French expedition [11]. The project was unpopular, and soon became uncertain. In the month of October, 1493, the count of Belgioioso asked Charles VIII whether he still persevered in his resolution ; but the King replied that he did, indeed ; that he had confidence in the princes of Italy, that the Pope himself would be compelled to be friendly to him; and that, on the occasion of next Christmas, he would send envoys to inquire into their intentions [12].

So he did. He sent to the Pontiff his intimate counselor. William Briçonnet, about the end of the year 1493 [13]. Pope Alexander VI, knowing his influence at the French court, had endeavored to win him for himself, by promoting him, on the 11th of October, to the episcopal See of St. Malo [14]. After speaking with the Pope, Briçonnet, returned to France a changed man, and tried to defeat the enterprise or to delay it for another year [15]. Briçonnet lost his courage, " le cœur

9. Corio, ibid., p. 474.

10. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII. Ch. IV, p. 22.

11. Corio, ubi supra, p. 478.

12. Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 300, Refer. to a dispatch of the 20th of Oct. from Trotti, the Ferrarese ambassador in Milan.

13. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVIII, 60, post Initium ; Bembo, Hist. Venetae, Lib. II, p. 36 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 302

14. Archiv. S. Consistor. Provisiones Innoc. VIII et Alex. VI ab an. 1489, f° 35.

15. Corio, Stor. di Milano, vol. III, p. 547.

faillit audit general, " Commines says ; and the Seneschal de Beaucaire remained all alone to side with the King [16], who had by this time spent on his fleet what little money was at hand, and had none left to move an army. It appeared in the beginning of the year 1494, as if the great plans of Charles VIII were to be put aside [17].

Yet, an eminent personage, who had renounced his former friendship with the king of Naples and who was filled with hatred against pope Alexander VI, arrived in France about the time of this crisis, namely, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere ; and he sustained with fiery eloquence the plea of his former enemy, Ludovico the Moro, who had, on the 15th of April, sent to Charles VIII Galeazzo di Sanseverino, duke of Cajazzo's brother, to make him hasten his crossing of the mountains into Italy [18]. Ludovico promised him free passage through the duchy of Milan, a number of war vessels and almost any amount of needed money, and guaranteed him the cooperation of five hundred men at arms. He, finally, succeeded, with the help of cardinal della Rovere and of Stephan de Vesc, to make the King definitely decide the Italian expedition and, as a consequence, to bring upon his own territories and eventually upon all Italy the sufferings and horors of war [19].

ARTICLE II. — ALEXANDER VI DID NOT CALL CHARLES VIII INTO ITALY.

Several authors, generally hostile to pope Alexander VI, accuse him of having been, at some time, Ludovico the Moro's

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16. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII. Ch. IV, p. 23.
17. Commines, ibid. ; Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 425.
18. Corio, Stor. di Milano, vol. III, p. 549.
19. Corio, ibid., p. 495 ; Christophe Hist. de la Papauté, t. II p. 416. ; Aa. passim.

accomplice, in bringing into Italy the pernicious invasion of king Charles VIII.

We should not wonder if the imputation was made by Infessura, and this unreliable diarist has several willing followers, who variously improve upon his assertions.

Thus Raynaldi says, on Infessura's authority, that Ferdinand of Spain sent an embassy to Rome in order to break the Pope's friendship with the French king ; although there is not in the subjoined quotation from that writer a single word on the subject. He comes nearer to the truth in the next previous paragraph, where he states that the Pontiff—intimate with cardinal Ascanio Sforza, Ludovico the Moro's brother—was thought, " putabatur ", not to be opposed to Charles VIII [20].

Ranke relies on Infessura to assure us [21] that on Ludovico's advice, Alexander VI invited Charles VIII to come and accept the investiture of the kingdom of Naples.

Gregorovius rehearses [22], after Raynaldi and Infessura, that the king of Spain removed the Pope from his connection with Milan and France.

The diary of Branca da Talini asserts [23] that pope Alexander VI, contending with the king of Naples about the tribute and other matters, called into Italy the emperor of Germany and the king of France, who first convened to discuss the complaints and then decided to enter Italy together ! The falsity is glaring to any tyro in history.

We learn from Philippe de Commines, who was an actor in the events which he relates [24], that Ludovico the Moro

20. Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493, nis. XXX, XXXI.
21. Geschichten, s. 23, ref. to Infessura's Diar., p. 1016.
22. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 337, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 64.
23. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LIV. Liv. 22, f° 1.
24. Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. II pp. 13, 14.

" commenced in the year 1493 to induce Charles VIII to the conquest of Naples " ; but there is not in all of that historian's Memoires as much as a hint at the Pope as an instigator of the expedition. Yet Guicciardini arbitrarily divides the only one mentioned by Commines into two embassies and two distinct negotiations, ascribing the former, most secret, he says,—secret, indeed, to all but Guicciardini—to both the Pontiff and to Ludovico and, leaving the Pope, a solemn embassy, to Ludovico alone [25]. Guicciardini's artifice is further disproved by Bembo, who, although an accuser of the Pope, speaks, like Commines, of only one embassy, and explicitly states that Ludovico the Moro kept the knowledge of it from the Pontiff and the Venetians, with whom he had concluded a league, " celatis ea de re Alexandro Venetisque quibuscum foedus percusserat " [26].

Cherrier, who has carefully examined this incident in his monographic History of Charles VIII, states to the same effect [27], that Ludovico the Moro had recourse to France, when he noticed that his confederates, the Pope and the Venetians, were more inclined to peace than to war against Ferdinand of Naples.

Bérault Bercastel, however, a writer as superficial as voluminous, improves upon the story of Guicciardini's fictitious embassy by saying [28] that Alexander VI concluded a new (?) league with Ludovico Sforza and that both, with one accord, sent their envoys to France. He incidentally adds that, after the King had decided his expedition, the Pope claimed perfect neutrality betwixt the contending parties. We shall let the subsequent facts disprove this latter calumny.

Bartoli, Marchese and Perrens, who try to justify the rebel-

25. Storia d'Italia, Lib. I. Cap. I, p. 36.
26. Hist. Venetae, Lib. II, p. 37.
27. T. I, p. 325.
28. Hist. de l'Eglise, t. X, pp 540, 541.

lious monk Savonarola by reviling pope Alexander VI, repeat in various tones the trickery of Guicciardini [29].

Corio asserts on a page [30] proved by Trinchera's " Codice Aragonese " to be entirely unhistorical, that pope Alexander exacted from the king of Naples forty thousand ducats, the amount of the former tribute of his kingdom Ferdinand, he says, thereupon threatened with war; and the Pontiff called at once on Charles VIII, offering to invest him with the Neapolitan kingdom, in return for his assistance and the payment of the said tribute. The contest, however, was not one about money, but, as we have seen, about the sale of Cervetri and Anguillara, and the Pope contented himself with answering the King's threats by concluding his league with Milan and Venice [31]. There is nothing to prove that there was any question about the old census ; for, on the 15th of June, 1493, the King sent to Rome the customary " census ", namely, a palfrey and its trappings, to be presented on St. Peter's day, and the Pope accepted it with his usual benevolence [32].

It may not be amiss to notice here that on the 31st of August, 1493, there was received at the papal treasury from the Most Serene King of Naples the sum of eight thousand six hundred and sixty-three and two-thirds ducats, as the remainder of the second of three payments for, not the census or tribute of the kingdom, but for the investiture of the Most Illustrious duke of Calabria with that State, " pro complimento secunde tertiarie investiture regni facte Illmo d. duci Calabrie " [33]. From which it appears that the Pontiff, instead of

29. Respectively : Apologia di F. Savonarola, p. 311.—Lettere inedite di Fra Girolama Savonarola—Jérome Savonarole, p. 48.

30. P. 526 of vol. III of his Storia di Milano.

31. Cfr. Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 399, ref. to Marino Sanuto, Vite dei Duchi, p. 1250 and Andrea Navaggiero. Hist. Venez. ap. Muratori, t. XXIII, p. 1201.

32. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. II, P. II, pp. 67, 96.

33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, at the date.

trying to deprive the King of his crown, had secured it beforehand to his heir.

De Magri, Corio's reviser, reduces his author's accusation to the following statement : " It looks as if, ' pare ', Alexander VI had taken some part in the negotiations, by which Charles VIII was induced to descend into Italy " [34].

Other historians present the accusation in terms that intimate its falsity. Thus Tommaso Tommasi [35] says that the Pope allowed himself to be led by Ludovico the Moro, to cooperate with him, yet more secretly and with greater precaution—although Tommasi knew all about it (!)—towards the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII.

H. de l'Epinois pretends that, when in the beginning, Charles VIII proclaimed his intention of passing the Bosphorus and making war on the Turks, the Pope invited him to come through Italy, where he wanted to oppose him to the House of Aragon [36]. For want of facts, he arraigns the Pontiff's intentions, " intente un procès de tendances "; which is always unjust.

Still other writers represent the imputation as a mere suspicion. Thus Çurita says [37] that many believed Alexander VI to be favorable to Charles VIII, because he allowed Everard d'Aubigny, the French envoy, to expose before the consistory the rights of the kings of France upon Naples. But the Pope had, already before this, declared himself adverse to the invasion.

Christophe states [38] that already in the month of November, 1492,—but probably a few months later—there was a report in Rome, that the Pope sided with the duke of Milan

34. Ap. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 658.
35. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 12186, f° 28.
36. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 407.
37. Hist. de Don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 22, f° 26.
38. Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 399.

to incite Charles VIII against the Napolitan king. Indeed, king Ferdinand himself heard of it, and was simply amused by the news. For all security's sake, he wrote to his Roman ambassador to apprise him of all that he might hear or observe regarding the matter; but he never again received such information [39].

There are historians, finally, who deny the accusation. Sansovino, although no friend of pope Alexander VI, gives to Ludovico the Moro alone all the blame for the devastation of Italy by the French [40]; and so Becchetti also [41] reproves the duke of Milan for doing the evil work in spite of the Pope. Levati relates [42] that, when the wife of the duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Sforza, requested her father Alfonso, and her grandfather, the king of Naples, to compel Ludovico to resign his unbearable tutelage of her husband, Ludovico called into Italy Charles VIII, king of France. He does not even mention pope Alexander VI. So also does another late historian, speaking of Isabella of Aragon [43], state that it was Ludovico, who most ardently incited Charles VIII to pass into Italy and to deprive the Aragonians of their kingdom.

In closing our list of principal revilers of pope Alexander VI on this occasion, we cannot but remark the absence of Dr. von Pastor, who observes a significant silence on the subject. Had he detected any historical proof of the Pontiff having at any time called the French into Italy, he would not have failed to proclaim it; but there is not a shadow of the Pope's guilt, while there is no deficiency of evidence to deny that, at any time, he favored or abetted the conquest of the kingdom of Naples by Charles VIII.

39. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. II. P. II, p. 291.
40. L'Hist. di Casa Orsina, p. 116vo.
41. Ist. degli Quattro Ult. Sec. della Chiesa, t. VI.
42. Dizionario delle Donne illustri, Art. Isabella d'Aragona, ap. Cerri, Borgia ossia Alessandro Papa, vol. I, p. 158.
43. Le Vite delle Donne Celebri d'ogni paese, vol. V, ap. Cerri, ubi supra.

In a matter of such a diplomatic importance as would be an invitation of the king of France by the Sovereign Pontiff to undertake the conquest of Naples, we should have a right to expect several documents from the courts of Naples, of Paris and of Rome ; yet, not a single one from any of those three chanceries is held forth or can be found implicating pope Alexander VI. Not a papal brief, not a royal letter can be alleged to sustain the charge.

Cherrier quotes a bull [44] to prove that the Pope invited Charles VIII, offered him free passage through the Pontifical States and promised him protection against the king of Naples ; but Cherrier has simply been deceived by the date of the bull, which is February the 1st, of the year 1494. The historian, although generally accurate, has not noticed that this date was, like many other documents, written according to the Florentine style, which commences a new year on the 25th of the month of March. He would have observed his mistake, had he paid attention to the addition : " Pontificatus nostri anno tertio, " the third year of our Pontificate, which lasts from August 26th, 1494, to the same day of 1495, and thus replaces the year 1494 of the bull with that of 1495. He would have detected his error again, had he attentively read these particulars of the bull : " Cum carissimus in Christo filius noster Carolus Francorum rex... ad almam Urbem nostram personaliter se cum dicto exercitu contulerit... volens ultra progredi, " Now that our beloved son, Charles, the king of France, has personally entered our mother City with his army, and has resolved to go farther... These expressions evidently point to the year 1495. ' By this letter the Pontiff made a last effort to divert king Charles, who was leaving Rome for Naples, from his design of conquering the southern kingdom and to turn him against the Turks ; in which case

44. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, pp. 384, 1485 ; Cfr. Malipiero, ap ' Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I, t. VII. P. I, p. 403.

he gladly would grant him free passage through his province of Latium, now forcibly entered into, to the Pope's great displeasure. He offered to defend him from the king of Naples, that is, to obtain from him the free progress of his army through the Neapolitan kingdom, on his way against the common enemy.

It is a matter of history that, from the 7th of August, 1493, pope Alexander VI constantly declared himself as opposed to the armed invasion of Naples. Should he, at any previous time, have enticed Charles VIII to enter upon that undertaking, would not the French king have justly rebuked him for his fickleness or duplicity ? The Pope's accusers do not find a trace of any such reproof. Neither do they give any other circumstance of the pretended invitation, nor any approximate point of time at which it should have taken place ; and yet, they want us to admit an unlikely charge against a great Pontiff.

Sigismondo dei Conti is the only one to offer the following curious detail. He asserts [45] that, " on the advice of Ludovico Sforza, Alexander wrote a short letter to the French king, telling him to give credence to what cardinal Savelli might write. Thereupon the cardinal wrote, as from the Pope, exhorting Charles VIII to turn his thoughts to the recovery of the Neapolitan kingdom ", adding, " that he would easily obtain the assistance of the Roman Pontiff, as it had always been his wish ". (?) We may let go unnoticed the secondary improbabilities of this report, but we ought to observe that proceedings, as here related, would have been a unique exception to the methods of Roman diplomacy ; since, even in less important affairs, the Pope always issued letters of his own, or gave written instructions to his legates, whom he

45. Le Storie dei Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 60.

provided with credentials. The whole of Sigismondo's assertion is evidently but a clumsy fiction.

No man would have been more interested in the alleged plot, nor could any one have detected it more easily through his ambassadors in France and in Rome, than its supposed future victim, the king of Naples. Yet Ferdinand did not believe the rumor of it, nor was it known to him when, on the 7th of June, 1493, he sent to Spain, his long indictment of pope Alexander VI, in which there are accusations derived from the time of pope Innocent VIII, namely, that he was offering the crown of Naples to René, duke of Lorraine ; but of his inviting Charles VIII, king of France, to come and dethrone him, there is not a word. Neither did he afterwards find the Pope to be guilty ; for, on the 9th of September, he thanked him, not for having changed his politics towards France, but for taking pains to conciliate and bring back Ludovico the Moro, the known originator and abettor of the dreaded invasion [46]. In fact, Cerri reports [47] from Rosmini, a letter of cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother Ludovico, dated Rome Jan. 29, 1494, stating that " His Holiness had ordered him to write, that he advised him most urgently to make all preparations in order to prevent the coming of the French into Italy ".

A complete justification of pope Alexander VI is, finally, to be found in a later confession of Ludovico the Moro, as reported by the Venetian ambassador in Germany, Fr. Foscari, wherein he admits his guilt of bringing upon Italy the evils of the French invasion, but highly praises the Pontiff. " I confess ", he says, " that I have done great harm to Italy, but I have done it in spite of myself, to keep the place that I occupy ; but the real fault was that of "—not of the Pope,

46. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. II, P. II, p. 233.

47. Borgia ossia Alessandro VI Papa, vol. I, p. 202.

but of—" king Ferdinand and also, to a certain extent, of the Most Illustrious Seigniory, who were never willing to declare themselves. But when ", he adds, " shall we find again a Pontiff to watch so constantly over the Italian independence, as the one we now have ? " [48].

The charge is simply the misrepresentation or a downright perversion, by hostile historians, of some of the first commendable acts of pope Alexander VI, of which emperor Maximilian said : " Our Holy Father has wished and requested the French king to wage war on the Infidels and not on Christians " [49]. When the inhuman Turks had, in the year 1492-1493, made several incursions into Illyria, Croatia and neighboring Christian countries, burnt their cities and outraged, enslaved and massacred their inhabitants, as in the late war, their allies, the Germans, were doing in Belgium, the Pope sent at once letters and delegates to all the princes and powers of Europe, to promote peace among them and unite them for a general attack on the fiends of Christianity. Thus did he write, in particular, to emperor Frederic and his son Maximilian, on the 16th of February, 1493 [50], and to the king of France [51], requesting them to settle their quarrel in a friendly manner, and prepare for a common expedition against Constantinople. The treaty of Senlis was consequently concluded between Maximilian and Charles VIII, on the 23d

48. Foscari, Dispacci, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I, t. VII, P. II, p. 843 : Quando ci venira occasione di trovare un Pontefice, che cosi constantemente invigili a questo effetto (Italian Independence), come fa il presente (allegando qualche instabilitá di Sisto e d'Innocenzio)... Confesso che ho fatto gran male al' Italia ; ma l'ho fatto per conservarme nel loco in cui mi trovo. L'ho fatto mal volentieri ; ma la colpa é stata del Re Ferdinando, ed anche, voglio dirlo, in qualche parte, della Illustrissima Signoria, perche mai si volle lasciare intendere.

49. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. G. G. f° 54.

50. Vienna, ibid., Cod. Osterr. 1493, 16 Febr.

51. De Magri, ap. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 629.

of May, 1493 [52]; and, to prepare their crusade, they were afterwards to have a conference, which was, however, eluded by the French king [53].

The Pope repeatedly invited and urged Charles VIII to undertake the Holy War, and, at last, the King pretended to answer his call, by making the Italian invasion, the principal aim of which he heralded, especially by his " Manifesto " of the 22d of November, 1494, from Florence, to be the overthrow of the Turkish power ; while he represented the acquisition of Naples, his only real motive, as a secondary matter, and only as a means to accomplish more easily the wishes of the Pontiff [54]. It is no wonder, therefore, if some people, in those days [55], should have ascribed to papal invitation the French expedition as it was announced; but it is unjust, after it was terminated, to hold the Pope in any way responsible for the subversion of the Neapolitan kingdom, which he opposed from beginning to end.

When, in the beginning of August, 1493, pope Alexander VI first officially learned of the intended expedition against Naples, he clearly manifested his disapproval of it. Peron de Basche, assisted by Francis de la Grolaye, who was elevated to the cardinalate on the following 20th of September, was sent by king Charles VIII to the Cities and States of Northern and of Central Italy, to solicit their help, or at least a free passage through their territories. In the name of his King he requested from the Pope the investiture of the kingdom of

52. Petitot, Cllection de Mémoires, 1re série, Vol. XIV, p. 202 ; Paris, Bibl. Nation., Cod. 2918, fiis 69, 111vo.

53. Vienna, ibid., Cod. G. G. f° 54.

54. Fr. Foscari, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. II, p. 782 ; Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, pp. 496, 537.

55. Even Ph. de Commines, if the ambassador Soderini tells the truth to Piero de' Medici, although Commines has not a word of it in his Memoires. Cfr. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Ph. de Commines, t. II, p. 134.

Naples. He promised that Charles VIII would recognize him as his suzerain and make the annual payment of the forty thousand ducats of tribute, which king Ferdinand had reduced to the bestowal of a horse, since the time of pope Pius II ; and he pledged to him Charles' powerful protection from attacks of the king of Naples or any foreign prince. In case of refusal of the investiture, de Basche was to ask an open road and victuals for the army, which the French king had resolved to lead across the Pontifical States. According to Corio, he even threatened the Pope with a future council and deposition, and spoke most insolently. He concluded by demanding an immediate answer of Yes or No [56]. Undaunted by the ambassador's strong language, the Pontiff replied with mild but firm words, that he could not concede him the investiture without a previous judicial decision of rights ; but that he was willing to take into consideration the arguments of the French king, and thought that the quarrel could be settled without recourse to arms.

King Charles VIII, displeased, as might be expected, at the report of Peron de Basche, dispatched to Rome, at the end of November or the beginning of December, 1493, another embassy, at the head of which was the bishop of St. Malo, William Briçonnet. The Pope had not changed his opinion, unfavorable to the French, and spoke well of king Ferdinand. When asked to grant to Charles VIII the investiture of Naples, free passage and provisions for his troops, he answered that he could not make any promise before having written to the Venetians and having heard from them. Moreover, he most forcibly dissuaded the enterprise, as full of danger, and fraught with ruin for Italy and the whole of Christianity ; although he did not speak from love of king Ferdinand, whom

56. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 525 ; Buser, Beziehungen der Mediceer, p. 543, Ref. to Archiv. of Florence, Med. fi 18. C 127, 128 ; 8, 9, Aug. 1493.

he knew to be full of deceit and not reliable for a moment [57]. His arguments were so conclusive that Briçonnet himself was convinced by them and, from that time on, tried in various ways to prevent the Italian invasion, which he had but too successfully promoted.

The death of the king of Naples, that took place on the 25th of January, 1494, encouraged Charles VIII to send to Rome the Grand Marshal of France and Ganay, president of the parliament of Paris, who were to require pope Alexander VI not to invest with the kingdom nor to crown Alfonso II, Ferdinand's oldest son. Alfonso had, however, received the investiture already before his father's demise. The Pope replied to the ambassadors that the new King had received none but hereditary rights, under the proviso that all claims of others should be safe; if, therefore, their King had any, he was not unwilling to hear them before his court [58].

The Pope not only justified his answer before the French envoys, but, two days later, he himself wrote to Charles VIII a letter, which he had first submitted to the approval of the Sacred Consistory, and which is substantially as follows : He told him of the great joy that he had felt at the conclusion of peace in accord with his former advices, between him and the neighboring monarchs ; and expressed his hopes and expectations, that such peace would be a forerunner of a successful expedition against the Turks. He had, he said, implored the help of the Christian princes on the occasion of the disasters of Illyria and the consequent danger of an Italian invasion by the Infidels; but how bitterly he and the cardinals had been surprised and afflicted, when it was learned that the powerful king of France was thinking of an attack upon the Neapolitan

57. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V. pp. 302, 303, ref. to Trotti, Disp. of Dec. 26, 1493.

58. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 60, post Initium ; Mapiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 319.

kingdom ; because if Italy, even when united, could hardly oppose the assaults of the cruel fiends, their inroads would now be facilitated by a war against Naples ; nor would they let so favorable an occasion pass by unimproved. When we think, he added, of the inherent evils of war, of the loss of souls and of the danger of Christianity, we cannot help beseeching you and requiring that, at least, you postpone your enterprise until a more propitious time, and turn your warlike preparations against the Turks, especially now that Maximilian, king of the Romans, is gathering arms for this expedition, as we learn from his letter and from his ambassador. By so doing, you will, following the example of your ancestors, acquire the brightest glory ; and, in the meantime, you shall not lose any of your rights ; for, as we promised to your envoys, we shall consider your claims on the Neapolitan crown with such justice, that no objection will be possible. Far be from us the intention of writing thus to you in order to impair your rights ; we write for no other purpose than to save Italy from general conflagration and from the mouth of the ravenous wolf, and for the honor of your Majesty. We are at present suffering from dearth of provisions and from epidemics, which, if they should attack your army, would fill your mind with great anxiety. Beware of persons who, solicitous about their own benefit rather than about the advantage and honor of Your Majesty, will not allow you to enjoy a God-given peace, but want to exhaust of money your large and noble country, while they continually foster disturbances and wars. Nor let it be said that Your Majesty attaches importance to the conquest of Naples, simply as to a means to assail more securely the common enemy. We commend very highly your pious design, but the means itself is costly, full a danger and uncertainty ; and it cannot be expected that the enemy of Christendom will wait for the end of the Neapolitan war to fall upon Italy ; but he will take

occasion of your hostilities to satiate his thirst for the blood of Christians. What could be more shocking than that a King, who bears the title of Most Christian, should give an opportunity to the enemies of Christ to overwhelm our holy religion [59].

Charles VIII would not listen to the pleadings of the Pontiff, nor would he submit his cause to the papal tribunal, pretending that it was sufficiently decided by his parliament of Paris. Neither could pope Alexander VI, in justice, ignore the rights of king Alfonso II, in whose favor there was a series of documents of the latest Supreme Pontiffs, while the new King gave him no cause for abandoning the course of his predecessors and for depriving him of a State of which he himself had allowed him to take possession.

One of the first cares of Alfonso II was to renew with the Florentines a treaty of his father, Ferdinand, and to request the good will of the Sovereign Pontiff. Alexander VI answered that, should he ever countenance the French potentate, he well knew that his favor would cause the utter ruin of Italy [60]. Thereupon the new King sent to Rome his captain general, Virginio Orsini, and other procurators, who, in his name, concluded with the Pope a solemn agreement before two notaries public, on the 28th of the month of March, 1494. Its articles correct several errors of historians adverse to pope Alexander VI.

1st, The Marriage contracted between Don Jofre de Borgia and Dona Sancia, daughter of his Majesty [61], shall be ratified and confirmed, with all the clauses and conditions contained in an instrument drawn up by the Lord Frederic, prince of Altamura ; not excepting those concerning the cardinal of

59. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 534, From Infessura, copied also by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1494, no. XV.

60. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 545, justly contradicting Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. I. Cap. II, p. 52.

61. Jofre is not designated as son of the Pope.

Valencia, as to the four thousand ducats of future benefices in the kingdom. Don Jofre shall arrive in Naples during the month of April, and personally contract the marriage. His engagement as a condottiere, at the service of both Pope and King, shall commence on the 1st of the next month of May.

Item, The Illustrious marquis of Giraci, Don Aloysius de Aragonia, nephew of his Majesty, shall receive a cardinal's hat from His Holiness, and shall be proclaimed a cardinal before the end of the coming month of May. In the meantime, provision shall be made to return the dot of the marchioness, so that his nuptials may be more readily dissolved.

Item, The king of Naples promises to give forever to the duke of Gandia, Giovanni de Borgia, and his heirs, a yearly income of twelve thousand gold ducats, by transferring upon him the cities, territories and castles of Tricarico, with the title of principality ; Carinola, Lauria and Claramonte, with the title of county ; Pistitzo, Ursomarzo, La Saponaria, La Rotonda, Circhiaro and Casalnuovo and their fortresses, together with civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all the rights and privileges that have been granted to his brother Jofre. Possession of all those States was to be given, in the name of the Duke and of Jofre, into the hands of a man to be sent by the Pontiff, after the arrival of the legate who was to crown king Alfonso, but before the coronation.

Item, His Majesty shall give to Jofre one of the seven principal offices of the kingdom, and he shall give him the commission of it in ample form on the day of the coronation, which shall be on the first of next May.

Item, His Majesty shall engage as condottiere the duke of Gandia, at the annual payment of thirty thousand ducats, to commence on the 1st of next May, and to last the lifetime of the Pope and a year after. In consideration of that sum, the Duke shall serve His Majesty by himself or by another, whom he shall depute with his troops, consisting of two hundred

men at arms, forty mounted crossbowmen and forty men on foot. Nor should this clause break the contract of Jofre's engagement as heretofore stipulated. His Holiness shall make the said Duke Captain General of the Holy Roman Church, and pay him every year sixty-seven thousand ducats, for his own pay and that of his armed men.

Item, His Holiness promises to relinquish the tribute of the kingdom, for the lifetime of the King, and to reduce to a hackney the fifty thousand pound sterling, promised at the time of the investiture, as it was done for his late father. The bull of this concession shall, for good reasons, be kept secret, and handed to the Lord Virginio Orsini before the end of the next coming May.

Item, His Holiness promises to send, with a convenient carrier, to His Majesty, the usual banner reserved for the investiture ; and shall send a cardinal legate to anoint and crown His Majesty ; and these two shall be in Naples during the month of next April, so that the coronation can be made the 1st of next May.

Item, In this contract and agreement shall be included the interests of the Most. Rev. cardinal of St. Peter's Bands ; and from this day on, His Holiness fully restores him in all his possessions, and maintains for him the ecclesiastical indults, bulls and briefs granted by former Pontiffs. His Holiness shall show him good will and treat him honorably as a good cardinal, and take him under his protection ; while, on his part, he shall faithfully serve His Holiness and the Church, as it is becoming a good cardinal. The Pontiff shall bring forth nothing, either against him or against the Prefect, his brother; either against their estate or against their person. Papers to that effect shall be issued at any request of them or of others in their name ; and His Lordship shall personally come to Rome.

Item, In case of vacancy or devolution of any State or

Vicariate in territories of the Church, His Majesty promises and obliges himself to help with his troops, to the effect that His Holiness shall effectually and fully obtain them.

Item, Should His Holiness decide to punish any of his vassals, subjects, cities or territories, in rebellion or disobedience to him, His Majesty shall give him armed assistance, until the punishment be complete.

And for the observance of the above articles, and the security of the above written parties, public instruments shall be made, in which the fundamental clauses can be developed, but the substance shall remain unchanged [62].

In consequence of this contract, pope Alexander VI held, on the 18th of April, 1494, a private consistory, in which he named the cardinal of Monreale, Giovanni de Borgia, an apostolic legate to go and crown Alfonso II. A heated discussion took place, lasting eight to nine hours. The ambassador of France appealed to a future council, and the cardinals Ascanio Sforza, de Lunate, Sanseverino, Colonna and Savelli defended the French interests [63]. Alfonso II was actually anointed, in the cathedral of Naples, and received the crown and all other royal insignia, on the 8th of the month of May, the feast of the Ascension of Our Lord [64].

The event caused the greatest commotion at the French court. Only a week after, on the 16th, there arrived in Rome a solemn embassy from king Charles VIII, which consisted of general Everard d'Aubigny, as its head ; the bishop of St. Malo, Briçonnet, Peron de Basche and John, count of Matalon [65]. They were most honorably received and the Pope

62. See Document 154.

63. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 108 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 343 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 362.

64. Burchard, ibid., p. 153.

65. Burchard, ibid., p. 178 ; Corio, Storio di Milano, vol. III, p. 551 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 310 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 346, n.

paid them every attention [66]. Yet, when admitted to a public consistory, they strongly protested against all that had lately been done in favor of the king of Naples, in spite, they pretended, of the rights of their own Sovereign. Pope Alexander answered them that, since the investiture of the Neapolitan kingdom had been granted by three of his latest predecessors to the house of Aragon, it had been impossible to him to refuse it to Alfonso II, and to concede it to a king of France, before his rights were recognized as valid. Moreover, since the kingdom was a fief of the Church, the Pope alone was entitled to decide the contention ; and he was not unwilling to examine the case in all justice, provided the King would abstain from using armed force [67]. He further warned the envoys, that an invasion of the French might drive Alfonso to despair and cause him to seek the assistance of the dreaded Turks, who might disembark in Apulia and set on fire the whole peninsula [68].

D'Aubigny would not, however, listen to any of the Pope's reasons or entreaties, but boldly threatened him with a conciliabulum and deposition [69]. The impudence of the envoys stirred up the Pontiff's ire and confirmed him in his resolution of protecting Italy and of siding with the king of Naples, happen what may. Pope Alexander VI was sadly grieved by the apprehension of the crimes and devastations that would follow in the wake of a French invasion, and of the danger of renewed assaults by the Turks upon Christianity divided against itself ; but Pastor greatly mistakes, when he describes him [70] as a poltroon disheartened by the alleged perils of his

66. Burchard, ibid., Bal., ibid., p. 312 ; Buser, Beziehungen der Mediceer, s. 333.

67. Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. I, Cap. II, p. 55 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1494, nis. XVIII, XIX ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 403.

68. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 346 ; De Cherrier, ibid., p. 362.

69. Card. Caesarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, f° 24 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 343 ; Aa. passim.

70. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 307.

own person in his exalted office. " His simoniacal election ", the historian asserts, " was a spectre to him ; he was dejected and in fear, was terrified and full of anxiety, and overcome with fright that bordered on despair ". The fact is, however, that, as a legitimate Supreme Pontiff, Alexander VI, forgetting himself and facing the conniving Italian princes, rebellious cardinals and a powerful King, stood courageous and firm, without deviating a finger's breath from what he considered just and fair, and unwilling to give to Charles VIII an investiture which had been lawfully granted to Alfonso of Aragon; as Pastor himself expresses it in the same paragraph, when stating that " the French envoys foresaw that the Pontiff would abide by his union with Naples ".

ARTICLE III. — ALEXANDER VI THE ONLY ITALIAN PRINCE TO TRY AND SAVE ITALY FROM THE FRENCH INVASION.

The French envoys remained in Rome till the first days of the month of June. Abusing the confidence of their guest, they spent their time in buying, through the medium of cardinal Sforza, the defection of the Pontifical vassals, Francesco, Prosper, Fabricius and the count Giacopo Colonna, Trajano Savelli, Jerome Tutavilla, Paolo Savelli and the prince of Sora. These were to make hostile incursions into Latium, enter into simulated negotiations with the courts of Rome and of Naples and openly declare for France as soon as its fleet would appear before the city of Ostia. Marin Sanudo relates that the French paid them twenty thousand ducats for their felony [71].

These treacherous barons and papal Vicars thus forsook their former employer, the king of Naples and their lawful

71. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 551 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 404.

suzerain, the Pope, to become the accomplices of Ludovico the Moro, for the devastation of Italy, their native country, by a foreign potentate. Neither were they alone in their disgrace. Ercole, duke of Ferrara, the father-in-law of the regent of Milan, was not any more patriotic. In the hope of recovering from Venice the island or Polesine of Rovigo, he promised to the envoy d'Aubigny to assist the French with all his might [72] ; and, as an earnest, of his sincerity, he dispatched, on the 16th of the following month of October, his second son, Ferdinand, to the advance guard of Charles VIII in Romagna [73]. On the 12th of November, he sent to Florence a precious tent for the use of the King [74] and remained a steady ally of the French, in spite of the confederate Italian powers.

Peron de Basche had, on his first mission to Italy, asked for his King free passage through the territory of Bologna, but Giovanni Bentivoglio, the papal Vicar of that city, had answered him that he could make no promise before consulting the Roman Pontiff [75]. When, afterwards, however, in d'Aubigny's company, Peron renewed his request with greater insistance, the Bentivoglios, in spite of a pontifical letter of encouragement to fidelity, and the XVI of the city council gave full satisfaction to the French ambassadors, by betraying their suzerain and their country [76].

Catharina Sforza, the governess of Forli and Imola, another vassal of the Pope, gave good words to the envoys of France, although inclined to favor king Alfonso but averse to displease

72. Corio, ibid., pp. 551, 586 ; Çurita, Hist. de Don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 21, f° 35vo; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, pp. 360, 401.

73. Benedetti, Fatto d'Arme del Taro, f° 7 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia t. V, p. 301.

74. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 333.

75. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 103 ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 314.

76. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 551 ; Gozzadini, ibid., pp. 103, 104 ; De Cherrier, ubi supra, p. 360.

Ludovico the Moro. She had, after all, decided to join the victorious party, as she actually declared herself for the French, after their cruel capture of Mordano in Romagna [77].

The small States between France and the duchy of Milan, such as Savoy, Montferrat and Saluzzo, readily granted to their powerful neighbor what he asked from them : free passage and provisions for his troops at reasonable prices. So did Genoa, although divided at first about making the requested concessions [78].

The Sienese told the French envoys that they feared the Florentines, but would assist the King in his expedition, as soon as his army could arrive to protect their city [79].

Piero de' Medici, the actual Lord of Florence, had answered to Peron de Basche, already in July, 1493, that he would assist Charles VIII as far as consistent with the honor and dignity of the Republic [80], and he continued in giving the same evasive answer, until the French king, who had already crossed the Alps, exclaimed in anger that, but for Piero, the whole of Florence would be French [81]. Nor did Charles VIII greatly mistake, for the Florentines complained of Piero, and said that he was trying to dispose of them for the benefit of the king of Naples, against the duke of Milan [82]. Lorenzo and Giovanni, wealthy sons of Pierfrancesco de' Medici, cousins but enemies of Piero and quite popular in Florence, promised to king Charles a large sum of money, and secretly let him know through d'Aubigny, that many of the principal citizens were of a quite different mind, and that he would easily obtain from the City all he wished, as soon as he would

77. Tonduzzi, Histoire di Faenza, p. 545 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 314 ; De Cherrier, ibid., p. 414.

78. Benedetti, Il fatto d'Arme del Taro, f° 5 ; Corio, ubi supra, p. 497 ; De Cherrier, ibid., p. 401.

79. Corio, ubi supra, p. 552 ; De Cherrier, ibid.

80. De Cherrier, ibid., p. 361, refer. to Archiv. Reform. Class. X, Dist. 3, no. 40.

81. Id. ibid., p. 400.

82. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 330.

deliver them from Piero's authority [83]. Moreover, Jerome Savonarola, at the height of his political power, was announcing to the people the king of France as the one chosen by God himself to be an irresistible conqueror, and a reformer of the Church. The Florentines were, in fact, most useful to Charles VIII, through the great sums of money which he repeatedly levied upon them, and they remained faithful to him until his death.

When the French ambassador, Peron de Basche, delivered his errand to Venice, in the month of July, 1493, the Senate answered him that they were desirous of peace ; yet, should his King enter Italy, they would not oppose him nor break off their friendship with him [84]. Charles VIII dispatched, in May of the following year, the Lord of Citain, to request their cooperation, offering them, as a reward, Negroponte and other islands, after they should be reconquered from the Turks ; but the Seigniory excused themselves by alleging the necessity of resisting the Turks, who were making another incursion into the neighboring Croatia [85]. Finally, Commines was sent by the King, to offer them the cities of Brindisi and Otranto, or, according to Bembo, any portion of the kingdom of Naples, in return for their assistance in its conquest ; but the Venetians continued in their resolution of remaining neutral spectators. Yet, they laid stress on the King's promise that he would not retain Ostia nor any other place of the Pontifical States [86]. On the other hand, the Pope sent the bishop of Calahorra, to request the Seigniory of Venice to help him in preventing the French from disturbing the peace of Italy [87] ;

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83. Benedetti, ubi supra ; Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 520 ; Ammirato, Istorie Fiorent., t. V, p. 341 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 21, fº 25vº.

84. Bembo, Histor. Venet., Lib. II, p. 36.

85. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, p. 400.

86. Bembo, ubi supra ; Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, pp. 110, 117.

87. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 28, p. 34vº.

but he received for answer the pointed question : Whether he expected them to perform deeds by which others should profit? [88].

The selfishness of the Italian powers and their total want of love for their common country left wide open its gates to the irruption of a destructive and rapacious horde of foreigners. The French historian of the expedition says well that, if Charles VIII could finish to the end an undertaking that was a series of disasters for Italy, the Italians could blame themselves more than a young adventurous King, whom they themselves had called and emboldened by their unpatriotic, though insincere, concessions and flatteries [89].

While every single prince of Italy was willing to sacrifice to his personal ambition or self-interest the peace and happiness of the others, there towered above them all the noble figure of pope Alexander VI, who fearlessly held out for right versus might, who stood up for religion and country, and used his own power and made every effort to enlist that of Italian fellow-rulers to stem the torrent that was to ravage the provinces of the whole peninsula. He not only tried to stir up the patriotism of Venice and of other cities, but undertook, although in vain, the hopeless task of making Ludovico the Moro abandon his treacherous designs [90].

Unheeded or rebuffed at home, the Pope had recourse to the neighboring countries. Çurita tells us that he wrote to all Christian princes, to expose to them his offer of doing full justice to Charles VIII, and to request their assistance in his efforts to retard or prevent the French invasion [91] ; but he principally applied to Germany and to Spain. The Sove-

88. Panvinius, Alex. VI, p. 388; Heidenheimer, Zeitschrift, V. 558, Refer. to Negociations Diplom. de la France avec la Toscane, I. 507.

89. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 54.

90. Trinchera, Codice Aragon., t. II, P. II, pp. 233, 295 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, pp. 305, 306.

91. Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 27, p. 34.

reigns of these States, it is true, had recently concluded treaties of peace with Charles VIII, but sufficient provisions had been made, as it was usual at the time, for the security of the Holy Father [92]; and, while the king of France now denied the universally admitted right of the Pontiff, as suzerain of the contested kingdom, to judge between him and the king of Naples, he was to be considered as the Pope's unjust assailant.

In conformity with a pontifical brief, emperor Maximilian strongly urged Charles VIII to postpone, or even to refrain from, his attack on the Catholic kingdom of Naples, and invited him to a meeting in some convenient place, to make arrangements for a common expedition against the cruel Turks, the enemies of all Christianity [93]. On the 19th of April, 1494, he sent an envoy to Rome, to inform pope Alexander VI of the intended interview in Burgundy and of its object [94]. Charles accepted the invitation, but refused to meet Maximilian at the proposed place, and suggested localities either absolutely unfit or too small to accomodate the number of persons required for the meeting. Nor did he ever make any definite proposal about the time of the convention nor its place. Hopeless of coming to any satisfactory negotiations, Maximilian, finally, left for the Netherlands ; where he received the news that Charles had already invaded the Pontifical States [95].

The Pope also wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and exhorted them, for the defence of the rights of the Roman Church, of ecclesiastical liberty and of the peace of all Christendom, to oppose the designs of the French king [96]. Ferdi-

92. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds franç. Cod. 2918, fiis 44vo, 46vo.

93. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. G. G. : Concepten, Originalia, Varia, f° 53.

94. Theiner, Docum. Slavorum. Meridion., t. I, p. 535.

95. Vienna, ubi supra.

96. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 254.

nand sent his ambassador, Garcias Lasso de la Vega, to reassure the Pontiff that his troops would never fail to defend the Church [97] ; and at the same time he despatched to France his special envoy, Alonso de Silva, who was admitted before the court in the city of Lyons, and there announced that his Master would abide by the papal decision regarding the Neapolitan crown and would, as Catholic King, protect the Roman Pontiff. Alonso was badly received, but when ordered to depart, he lay before Charles VIII the papal brief asking for help from Spain [98]. To the great displeasure of the French, Ferdinand commenced to assemble his fleet in the ports of Guipuzcoa and of Biscaye, and to garrison the castle of Perpignan [99].

Relying on the good will of the Catholic Kings, the Pontiff issued, on the 13th of September, 1494, a solemn document to encourage the Spaniards and to deter the French. He stated that he had often requested Charles VIII to refrain from his intended assault on the kingdom of Naples and to join his troops with those of other Christian princes against the fierce Mohammedans, as he had always desired him to do. But, since the French king was unwilling to respect the rights of the Holy See, he now had invited the kings of Spain to wage war against him, and he threatened with the severest censures all who should aid or abet Charles' undertaking, or who would fight against Spain or oppose it in any way [100]. We will notice later on that the Spanish troops, during the two following years, helped to drive out of Italy the remnants of the French army.

Nor was pope Alexander VI remiss in using all his own means to forcibly resist the designs of Charles VIII. A town

97. Ferreras, Hist. de España. t. XI, p. 353, Ref. to Çurita, Garibay and others.

98. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 31, p. 38; Cap. 33, p. 41vo ; Cap. 35, u. 44vo.

99. Ibid., cap. 33, p. 41.

100. Lünig, Codex Italiae Diplomaticus, t. IV, col. 677.

of Virginio Orsini, Vicovaro, a few miles East of Tivoli, had been set for a meeting of the Pontiff with the king of Naples. His Holiness left Rome on the 12th day of July, 1494, accompanied by seven cardinals, Virginio Orsini, a delegate of Florence and one of Venice with about a hundred men at arms. They all proceeded on horseback, in the form of a solemn procession : The cross went in front and then came a papal sacristan carrying the blessed Sacrament, followed by the Pope and the whole retinue. The Pontiff was received in Tivoli with religious ceremonies, and the Holy Eucharist, preceded by a hundred torches, taken under a canopy to St. Francis' Church, in the neighborhood of which the Pope rested over night. The following day he arrived at Vicovaro, in the same order, and took up his quarters in the castle, after the Sacred Host, surrounded by fifty-two torches, had been carried to the town church. King Alfonso, followed by many noblemen and a thousand men at arms, arrived on the 14th. He had with the Pontiff a long private conference ; and the following morning they again conversed together a long time. After dinner, the Pope returned to Tivoli, and the next day, the 17th, to Rome [101].

At the war council of Vicovaro it was decided that Virginio Orsini should remain within his States, to watch the Colonna barons, who had secretly sold their services to the French, and who were suspected of treachery [102]. King Alfonso was to send his son, Ferdinand, with the greater part of his army, reenforced with several squadrons of papal soldiers, into Romagna, to threaten Milan, and to oppose the first assaults of the invading enemy. Piero de' Medici was to guard the Northern frontiers of Tuscany [103]. A fleet, under prince

101. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 180-185 ; Corio, Storia di Milano, Vol. III, p. 553 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd, I, s. 73 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 118.

102. Sansovino, ibid., Corio, ubi supra, p. 554.

103. Benedetti, Il fato d'Arme del Taro, f° 5 ; Ammirato, Ist. Fiorent., t. V, p. 345 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd VII, s. 349.

Frederic, should, with the help of the Fregosi and exiles of Genoa, try to take that place, the base of the French navy. Finally, the Pope should confide to the King his city of Terracina, to be prepared for a siege; fortify and provide the castle of Sant' Angelo for a long resistance, gather soldiers to protect the City and the province of the Patrimony, and also increase the army of the Romagna [104].

In fact, pope Alexander VI hurried the restorations of the city walls and of the fortress, which he supplied abundantly with stores and ammunition [105], and hired a large number of condottieri [106], not a few of whom were destined to the defence of Rome and of its environs, while others were sent to the army of Ferdinand in the Romagna.

ARTICLE IV. — THE POPE SLANDERED AS AN ALLY OF THE TURKS.

Pope Alexander VI thus contributed a large share towards the preparations to stop with armed hand the progress of the disturber of Italy and to protect his vassal, the king of Naples ; but some writers accuse him of having used also a means most dangerous to Italy and most injurious to his own reputation ; namely, of calling to his and king Alfonso's assistance the relentless persecutor of Christians, Bajazet, the Grand Turk.

To prove that the Pope recommended to Bajazet, on the 12th of May, 1494, the kingdom of Naples, Pastor refers [107] to what he calls the original minutes of the brief, left among the private papers of the papal secretary, L. Podocatharo, now

104. Bembo, Hist. Venetae, Lib. II, p. 44 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 1 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra.

105. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527, at various dates.

106. See Document 155.

107. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 308, n. 4.

kept in the Marciana library of Venice ; but these pretended minutes are nothing more than a scrap of paper, perhaps Podocatharo's personal project of a letter, the original of which was never found, nor was a copy of it ever discovered in the Vatican archives, either by ourselves or by any other searcher.

The following well authenticated and universally admitted facts are the occasion of the calumny.

Bajazet was paying every year forty thousand ducats to the Pontiff, for the guardianship of his brother and former unsuccessful competitor for the Turkish throne, Zizim, or Djem. Pope Alexander VI, as he had done before [108], sent to Constantinople, in the summer of the year 1494, George Busardus, or Buzardo, Bocciardo, a scriptor of pontifical letters, who spoke also the language of the Turks [109], in order to receive, in his name, the annual forty thousand ducats. The Prefect of Rome and Lord of Senigallia, Giovanni della Rovere, a rebellious vassal of the Pope and a follower of the invading Charles VIII, the brother of cardinal Giuliano, was the bitterest of all the enemies of the Pontiff. This Giovanni had heard of Buzardo's mission, and already in the month of June had laid plans to overtake him with armed men, on his return. His design was a success. Buzardo and a Turkish envoy, who carried the money, valuable presents for the Pope and official papers, were assailed at a distance of about ten miles from Ancona and led as prisoners to Giovanni della Rovere in Senigallia. The messenger of the Sultan, after being deprived of his papers and treasure, succeeded, however, in escaping from his captors and fled to Ancona or Mantua ; while Buzardo was detained a captive. On the 20th of November, the lord of Senigallia informed his brother, the cardinal, of his lucky surprise and of the intercepted documents,

108. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 202, n.

109. Id., ibid., t. I, p. 481, t. II, pp. 202, 622.

that were now being translated and fashioned under his direction and, ere long were spread abroad all over Italy [110].

These papers, as copied by Burchard [111], are, first, the Instructions pretendedly given by the Pope to Buzardo, his envoy to Constantinople and, secondly, five letters of the Sultan Bajazet to the Pontiff. Buzardo is directed to apprise Bajazet of the threatened war against Naples by the king of France and of this King's demanding from the Pope the Sultan's brother, Zizim, in order to lead him against Bajazet himself. Buzardo is further instructed to request the premature payment of the forty thousand ducats for Zizim's support, so that they may be spent in warlike preparations against the French and, thus indirectly, for the benefit of the Turks. The envoy should also pray Bajazet to dispatch at once an ambassador to Venice, to request the cooperation of the Seigniory with the Pontiff, and finally, he should beg the active help of the Grand Turk towards the defence of Rome and of Naples. In return, Buzardo should promise that the Pontiff would prevent the attacks of other Catholic princes on His Majesty and increase his friendship towards him [112]. Such are the disgraceful charges made against pope Alexander VI before the court of king Charles VIII, in Florence by Giuliano della Rovere, Giovanni's brother [113], and ever since, before the tribunal of History, by hostile historians.

The damaging document never had any authentic existence,

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110. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç. Cod. 20631, f° 3 ; Jovius, Hist. sui Temporis, Lib. II, p. 44; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 352 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 309, n.—The lordly highwayman attempted to justify his robbery by saying that the amount was due him from the papal treasury, ever since the time of pope Innocent. VIII. (Siena, Hist. di Sinigaglia, p. 161 ; Alii.) Heidenheimer (Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch. Bd. V, s. 558) states that the Pontiff. after several efforts to make him restore the stolen money, finally excused him from restitution, on the 18th of Nov., 1499.

111. Diar., t. II, pp. 202-210.

112. Cfr. Malipiero, Annal. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII. p. 145.

113. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds franç. Cod. 20631, f° 3 ; Cappelli, Atti e Mem., t. IV, p. 334.

however, since Buzardo testifies [114] that the Pope gave him his instructions by word of mouth ; and it is admitted by Giovanni della Rovere to be the result of the envoy's confessions, probably obtained by torture [115].

The four first letters of Bajazet are said to have been in Greek, and, strangely enough, the last one to have been written in Italian with Latin characters [116], while Jovius [117] states that this fifth letter was composed in the Greek language. No matter how this may be, the fact is, that the notary public, Philip de Patriarchis, who verified all those papers, avers to have received them all through Giovanni della Rovere, and copied them faithfully as he had received them from Senigallia [118].

It is evident, therefore, that the lord of Senigallia obtained the substance of the most important paper from pretended confessions of Buzardo, and is responsible for all the documents as they have come to us ; and, as a consequence, that the security for their genuineness could be no greater than the questionable truthfulness and honesty of a disloyal vassal and bitter enemy of a Sovereign Pontiff, whom he admits to have robbed of material treasure, on the very occasion of his attempt to deprive him also of his much more valuable reputation.

Common sense, it seems, should revolt against granting any credence or consideration to a paper, in reality prepared by such a man, and not by the Pope. The apostolic brief of Buzardo's introduction to the Sultan is given by Sanudo [119], but of papal instructions on this occasion there is no trace anywhere. Neither did the originals of Bajazet's letters appear in public at the time, nor were they found ever since [120].

114. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 205.

115. Cappelli, ubi supra.

116. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 208, 210.

117. Hist. Lib. I, p. 45, ap. Heidenheimer, Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., Bd. V, s. 533.

118. Burchard, ibid., p. 206.

119. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 206, n.

120. Heidenheimer, Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch., Bd. V, s. 525.

Not even cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had any original to show, when, on the 23d of November, 1494, Manfredi, the ambassador of Ferrara in Florence, called on him. The cardinal told that his brother of Senigallia had written concerning the intercepted instructions of Buzardo, " ma altramente non ne fece vedere sua Signoria, " but otherwise His Reverence did not let me see anything of them, Manfredi remarks [121].

It is true, as de Patriarchis testifies, that the first four letters of the Sultan were translated from Greek into Latin, by the learned Lascarus assisted by the bishop of Samagosta; but what confidence can we place in those men, when we know that the bishop was in friendly relations with cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and that Lascarus followed Charles VIII on his expedition to Naples and later to France [122]. Were they not accomplices in this part of the fraud, which, after all, was but little injurious to pope Alexander VI ?

The authentication or verification made by the notary de Patriarchis could not add any credibility to those papers ; but his seal only insured the correctness of his copies from the forged writings received from Senigallia.

So little belief or importance was attached to those copies, that the ancient historians, Dominic Malipiero [123], Bembo [124] and Çurita [125] simply ignore them, although they speak of Giovanni's robbery of the forty thousand ducats. Not even does the contemporary historiographer of the French invasion, Commines, make any mention of those pretended documents; neither do we see any attention paid to them by Corio or Guicciardini, nor is there any record to show that king Charles VIII ever complained of them to the Pope or tried to take any revenge for them. In the articles of agreement

121. Ant. Cappelli, Atti e Mem., vol. IV, p. 334 ; Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 327.

122. Heidenheimer, ubi supra, p. 535.

123. Annal. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, pp. 144, 327.

124. Hist. Venet., Lib. II, p. 47,

125. Hist. de Don Hernando, Lib. I, c. 36, fo 46vo.

drawn up in Rome between pope Alexander VI and Charles VIII, there is a disposition made in regard to Giovanni della Rovere's robbery ; but of his forgery to defame the Pontiff there is not a word [126]. Neither Mazzoni nor the ambassador Trotti [127] speak of the charges which, if true, they would not have neglected to mention.

Pastor [128] asserts that Burchard and Sanudo admit those papers as genuine, but Burchard [129] expressly states that he copies them as heard from the—deceived—cardinal de Gurck, who said he had found them as transmitted by Giovanni della Rovere to his brother, cardinal Giuliano ; but he does not say that he considers them as true. Sanudo also merely admits them into his narrative, without vouching for their authenticity.

Prejudice or a perverted national feeling has misled many later historians to consider the slanderous papers, in part at least, as genuine. Thus have several French writers tried to favor Charles VIII by asserting that the Pontiff had requested the fierce Turks to come to his help in fighting the Most Christian King. Kervyn de Lettenhove [130] goes so far as to call Bajazet an ally of Alexander VI against France. In a page, historically as incorrect and untrue as it could well be made [131], de l'Epinois seriously relates that the Pope instructed his commissary to bargain with Bajazet for the sale of his brother Zizim, who was in the Pontiff's care, and to secure his armed assistance against the Most Christian King. He adds that the Sultan sent to Rome forty thousand ducats

126. Item, quant a ce qui touche les XL mille ducas que le pape demande au Sgr, prefet et aultres robes et personyes quil dit avoir prins, le Roy prend la difference en ses mains pour diffinir la en quatre mois : Paris. Archiv. Nation., Cod. K. 76, no. 1.

127. Respectively, Memorie Ms., f° 44vo ; Disp. of the 20th of Nov. 1494, ap. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 328, n. 2.

128. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 309, n.

129. Diar., t. II, p. 202.

130. Lettres de Commines, t. II. p. 173.

131. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 411.

to induce the Pope to murder Zizim. All such rubbish he calls facts, and unceremoniously relegates to a short footnote an extract of the sober but telling protest of pope Alexander VI against the slanders of Giovanni della Rovere.

Pastor [132] decides that the latest critical researches have accepted as undoubtedly genuine the Instruction of Buzardo, among the papers sent forth from Senigallia; but that the question is different with regard to Bajazet's letter of the 12th or the 15th (sic) of September, 1494. Ranke and Brosch are less positive, if we may believe Dr. Heidenheimer [133]; they only think that the credibility of the Instruction is pretty, " ziemlich, " certain ; while the reasons for the forgery of the other papers preponderate.

A writing, however, the Instruction, forming part of a package of documents, sent by the same individual and verified by the same notary, which are considered as doubtful or false, could not be admitted as undoubtedly genuine : the very company of its associates must, to an unbiased mind, make it suspicious, at least. That it is positively not the copy of a regular instruction from pope Alexander VI, is evident from the signed testimony of Buzardo himself, and from Giovanni della Rovere's assertion to his brother, cardinal Giuliano, that its contents were learned through Buzardo's examination and confession. There can be question, therefore, but of the truth or falsity of the substance of this mislabeled piece of writing.

We do not deny that the Pope has actually dispatched Buzardo to Constantinople, to receive the forty thousand ducats for the support of Zizim, and may have recommended to him diplomatic politeness and friendship with the Sultan. Maybe he also directed Buzardo to beg Bajazet, not to attack Italy during the threatened war between France and

132. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 309, no.

133. Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch. Bd. V, s. 529.

Naples. The fact is that the Turks did not avail themselves of the disturbances of Italy to devastate or conquer the southern kingdom, during all the time of the French invasion and their subsequent ejection ; as the Pope had repeatedly expressed his apprehension of the dreaded misfortune, in his letters to Charles VIII. But we can not admit that Buzardo, even under the strokes of a torturing rope, should have violated the secrecy of an ambassador, should have revealed inscrutable papal instructions, and have manifested matters, the disclosure of which, he knew, would bring disgrace upon his master and punishment upon himself. His alleged confession would have deprived him of the confidence of both the Pontiff and of the Sultan ; and the Pope, who, no doubt, perused the compromising papers, no less than Burchard, his master of ceremonies, would justly have inflicted on him a traitor's penalty, on his return in Rome. The very opposite, however, took place. In the beginning of the year 1496, he was again honored by pope Alexander VI with a similar embassy. Malipiero [134] records that Zorzi Buzardo, nonce of pope Alexander VI, had arrived, last February the 28th, in Constantinople and was gladly and honorably received by Bajazet.

Moreover, is it simply possible that pope Alexander VI, who had issued several pathetic letters to all Christian princes, inviting them to join in a common expedition against the faithless, inhuman Turks, who had anxiously warned the French king of the grave danger of an irruption of the Infidels into Italy, if he should bring war against Naples, and who, soon after, on the 1st of February, 1495, invited him again to direct his army against Constantinople ; is it possible that here he should suddenly reverse his feelings and convictions, and, as a consequence, knowingly expose himself to the in-

134. Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 152.

dignation of all Europe, by asking the inveterate enemy of all his Christian subjects, the dreaded and abhorred Turk, to descend upon Italy, which, if victorious, he would not be readily to leave again? How, in particular, would such a felony have affected Venice, that was constantly either at war or preparing for war against Bajazet, had the Seigniory believed the forgery of the Lord of Senigallia? Would they have interested themselves in the restitution of the stolen money to an ally of their enemy? Yet, Sanudo and Donado da Lezze report that the Venetians sent their secretary, Alvise Sagundino, to urge Giovanni della Rovere to make the restitution. They received for answer an unbecoming and petulant refusal [135], but they punished him for his crime, by dismissing him as a condottiere [136]. In fact, we do not find one disinterested observer of that time either to have been scandalized at the incident [137], or to have believed the fraud.

When to all those reasons we add the fact that Bajazet actually did not grant the Pontiff's alleged request of assistance, we trust to have sufficiently demonstrated that the Instruction of Buzardo is plainly a fabrication, worthy of its accompanying crime of highway robbery.

Pope Alexander VI had no need of defending himself from the forged imputation, but did not forget Giovanni's malicious attempt. When, in June of the year 1498, he sent his solemn embassy to congratulate Louis XII on his accession to the French throne, he instructed his envoys to relate, in case that the king should speak of the Lord of Senigallia, how this rebellious vassal had, within the territories of the Church, assailed pontifical troops, led by his relative, Bartholomew Serra; how he had imprisoned his ambassador and robbed

135. Heidenheimer, ubi supra, s. 556, n. 1.
136. Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 327.
137. Heidenheimer, ubi supra s. 518.

him of forty thousand gold florins and of other moneys and goods of great value ; and, what has been more unbearable to us, the Pontiff says, how he had tried to asperse our fair name by false machinations, misrepresenting us as being in harmony with the Turks. Since, in consequence of his misdeeds, he has been excommunicated by a decree of the Apostolic Chamber, and deprived of the dignity of prefect of Rome and of all his fiefs and goods, you shall request His Majesty, the Pope continues, since there is question of our honor here, not to do him any favor. His Majesty may hear from the counselors of his predecessor, that king Charles, when he was in Rome, promised by a short writing to procure that Giovanni della Rovere should restore to us the forty thousand ducats, which, however, were never paid [138].

It is hardly necessary to inquire into the authenticity or forgery of the letters of Bajazet to the Pope. Already Ciaconius doubted them, saying " si tamen verae sunt, " provided they be true. The French historian, du Boulais, of the 18th century, equally expressed his suspicion, and, later, Schroeck remarked that it is a wonder if doubts about the genuineness of those letters have not arisen even sooner ; while Ranke, Brosch and Cipolla consider them as mere counterfeits [139]. Gregorovius' unreal distinction between their contents and their form does not save their supposed authenticity, since they are both at fault.

The object of the Sultan's fourth letter, dated as late as December the 18th, 1494 (!) is to request from the Pope the publication of Nicholas Cibó, archbishop of Arles, as a cardinal ! Is it not pure folly to represent the Mohammedan Grand Turk as lauding the virtues of a Catholic prelate and presuming that a Pope will create a prince of the Church, to

138. See Document 156.
139. Heidenheimer, Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., Bd. V, s. 529, 530 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 309, n.

please her archenemy ? In reality, there was no question at any time of Nicholas Cibó's promotion to the cardinalate.

In the last letter it is stated that Charles VIII had the intention of taking away from the Pope Zizim, Bajazet's brother; but this assertion was premature at least, in June, 1494 ; for the French king demanded the Turkish prince no sooner than in January, 1495.

It is also related here how the Sultan advised and requested the Pope to murder his brother Zizim, and promised the sum of three hundred thousand ducats for the delivery of his corpse [140]. Balan, however, sensibly remarks [141], that business of this kind is transacted by oral intercourse and not by writing. The Sultan further made to the Pontiff the humiliating observation, that the large sum would enable him to buy some estates for his children. This uncalled for particular suggests the thought that perhaps the forger of Bajazet's letter was the same who wrote the false bull of pope Sixtus IV, which we have discussed in our first volume.

We must here add the remark of Cipolla and Balan [142], namely, that, should even the letter of Bajazet be genuine, yet it would not in the least affect the character of pope Alexander VI, who never received the promised sum of money and did not cause the death of Zizim to obtain it ; nor did he, to earn the amount, consign his corpse to Bajazet's disposal. On the 27th of January, 1495, he surrendered him in Rome to Charles VIII, in whose hands the unfortunate prince died a natural death, in Naples, on the following 25th of February. The Sultan afterwards paid, but not to the Pope, a large sum for his corpse to be shipped to Constantinople [143].

Finally, Bajazet's extreme confidence in the Pope, when

140. The cardinal of Gurck had mentioned this amount to Burchard, but in 1497, he gave it as two hundred thousand: Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 202, 209, 668.

141. Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 328.

142. Respectively, Le Signorie, p. 692 ; Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 327

143. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 242 and n. 3.

making his disgraceful proposal, and expecting its fulfillment for the sake of his pleasure; his iterated expressions of mutual friendship and affection, his sworn promise nevermore in life to injure any Christian on sea or on land : all these substantial incidents, if confronted with their mutual present and subsequent hostilities, make it impossible to believe that the Grand Turk should have thus written to pope Alexander VI.

Neither does the form of those letters, any better than their substance, remove the suspicion of their forgery. The name of the Turkish envoy is twice given by Burchard [144] as " Cassimen, " while Tommasi calls him " Casime Dauzio ", and Jovius [145], simply " Dautius ". Romanin gives him the name of " Assanbei, " and Ranke assures us that, in the Annals of the Turks, his name is " Mustapha Bey " [146]. Even the name of Bajazet is given according to its form mostly used in Europe [147] ; but its correct spelling, " Abuayazid, " should have appeared on the letters, to make them look authentic.

But, who is not reminded of the style of the Curia of Rome, when he hears the Sultan of the Osmanlis call himself a King " Dei gratia, " by the grace of God, and address pope Alexander VI, as Pontiff of the Roman Church by divine Providence, " divina providentia Romane ecclesie digno pontifici "? Who ever knew that the Grand Turk had Gospels to swear on, before Bajazet did so, " juravi super evangelia nostra "; or who could have expected a Mohammedan to reckon the years from the Nativity of Christ, and not from the Hegira of the false prophet ; and the days of the years by the numbers and months of the Christians ; " Secundum adventum Christi die XV Septembris 1494 " ?

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144. Ibid., p. 207.

145. Hist. Sui Temporis, Lib. II, p. 44.

146. Heidenheimer, Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., Bd. V, s. 552 ; Ranke, Zur Kritic, s. 99.

147. Baiasit, in the Lettere di Principi, Lib. II, p. 3.

From all this we may conclude that Giovanni della Rovere, lord of Senigallia, although an experienced highwayman, was not a skillfull forger, being able to deceive only such as wish no better than to find fault with pope Alexander VI.

The Pontiff did not ask the assistance of the Turks, but did what he legitimately could, to help Alfonso of Naples in preparing for a valiant encounter with the more powerful king of France.

CHAPTER V.

Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.

ARTICLE I. — INVASION OF MILAN, ROMAGNA AND FLORENCE.

On the 11th of August, 1494, king Charles VIII held a council at Vienne in Dauphiné, where the elite of the French nobility : the duke of Bourbon, the counts of Montpensier and of Ligny, the archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of Pui and of St. Malo, the lords of Gyé, of Baudricourt, of Grimault, of the Isle and others were present [1], and where the Italian invasion was much debated. The envoys of Ludovico the Moro and cardinal Giuliano della Rovere finally prevailed, and the King decided to put his army in motion. On the 23d, he was in Grenoble,crossed Mount Genèvre on the 2d of September,was in Turin on the 5th and on the 9th at Asti [2]. Here he was honorably received by Ludovico the Moro and Ercole, duke of Ferrara, and visited by Ludovico's wife and a bevy of Milanese ladies. But here also he was suddenly overtaken by a sickness, that made doubtful again the prosecution of his undertaking. Yet, he recovered after a few days and resolved to persist in his expedition, all the more so since he received in Asti the news of the withdrawal of the Neapolitan fleet to Leghorn, after Frederic of Naples' disappointment before Genoa and the inhuman massacre of the inhabitants of Rapallo by the French navy. The army on land had also made itself known already as a scourge to the people of the allied duchy of Milan. Trotti wrote to the duke of Ferrara that its soldiers

1. Paris, Archiv. Nation., K. 76, no. 21,[1].

2. Ibid.

were arrogant, insolent and more bestial than any that he had ever seen or read of [3].

Charles VIII arrived in Pavia on the14th of October, where he called on the lawful duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Sforza, reduced to a dying condition through poison administered by his uncle, the Moro, according to the opinion of most contemporary writers [4], Commines [5], Bembo [6], Malipiero [7], Ammirato [8], P. Collenucio, Grumello, Pontano, Corio, Guicciardini, Machiavelli, Senarega, Ferronus, Balan [9]. The unfortunate duke begged the King's protection for his two small children ; and Isabella, his wife, supplicated him on her knees in favor of her father, king Alfonso ; but Charles paid little attention to them, and proceeded on his way to Piacenza, which he entered on the 18th. Here he learned that Giangaleazzo had already expired.

At this sad event, Ludovico the Moro had hurried to Milan and, depriving of their rights the orphans of his nephew, assumed the tittle and coronet of a duke of that province.

Also in Piacenza, an envoy or legate of pope Alexander VI reached the king of France. Commines, lord of Argenton, was ambassador of Charles VIII in Venice, but, like nearly all French noblemen, was cordially opposed to his invasion of Italy and, as a private individual, tried still to prevent its progress. To this effect, he had recommended to the Venetian orator of Florence, Soderini, the hasty sending of a papal legate to king Charles VIII. On the 11th of October, 1494, Piero de' Medici wrote to Soderini that, as soon as he had let him know the advice of Commines, he had written to where it behooved, and that, within four or six days or even sooner,

3. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 319.
4. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds franç. Cod. 20294, fo 48vo.
5. Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. VI, p 32.
6. Hist. Venet. Lib. II, p. 45.
7. Annal. Venet., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 320.
8. Ist. Fiorent., t. V, p. 351.
9. Ubi supra.

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the lord Legate would hurry to His Most Christian Majesty, provided with such faculties as would show to the whole world that our Holy Father leaves no stone unturned to arrive at some good agreement [10]. The Pontiff dispatched at once, indeed, the cardinal in whom he could place the most confidence, his own cousin, Giovanni de Borgia ; but, Cherrier says [11], that the King would not receive him, because he had crowned his adversary, Alfonso of Naples [12].

Towards the end of August, 1494, the king of Naples had sent into Romagna his son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, with one half of all his forces, while the papal auxiliary troops, under the command of Nicholas Orsini, count of Pitigliano, had been moving already towards Cesena since the 26th of July. Ferdinand proceeded to the northern confines, as far as Lugo, but was prevented from advancing any farther by the Milanese general, Sanseverino, count of Cajazzo, who was already on the 7th of August in the territory of Modena and entered into Romagna on the 22d of that month [13]. The opposing forces were of nearly equal strength and no regular battles, but skirmishes only, took place [14]. Soon after, however, the count of Cajazzo had received help from the French general d'Aubigny, who was at the head of numerous troops that, unbearable even to their friends, were soon to terrorize the subjects of the Pontifical States [15].

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10. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, p. 127.

11. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 472, Ref. to Sanuto, Lib. IV, fo 197vo.

12. Daru, Hist. de la Républ. de Venise, t. III, p. 5, relates, from Brantôme, a witty answer of the King, to whom the Pope is said to have forbidden under pain of ecclesiastical censures to proceed any further towards Naples : " A quoi Charles fist response gentiment, que dès longtemps il avait fait vœu (eh! quelle gentille invention et feintise de vœu !) à Monsieur Saint Pierre de Rome, et que nécessairement il fallait qu'il l'accomplit au péril de sa vie. "

13. Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, pp. 315, 316.

14. Bembo, Hist. Venet., Lib. II, p. 49 ; Ammirato, Ist. Fiorent., t. V, p. 350.

15. Bojardo, ap. Archiv. Stor Lombardo, an. II, p. 15, n.

It was a double misfortune for the duke of Calabria that, about the very time of d'Aubigny's arrival against him, he was deprived of the valuable assistance of the count of Pitigliano, who was suddenly called away with the papal soldiers, to go and protect, together with Virginio Orsini, in Rome and its neighborhood, the Pope himself against the assaults of the Vitelli of Città di Castello and of the Roman barons, the Colonna, the Savelli, the d'Estouteville, and others, who had made use of the French money and of their own, to engage a great number of men and horses, and had now openly declared themselves as enemies of the Pontiff and as condottieri of Charles VIII. On the 18th of the month of September they had captured the fortress of Ostia by treachery, bribing a number of Spanish guards ; and not by assault, as Gregorovius says, nor by surprise, as the Civiltà Cattolica [16] asserts [17]. They tore down the pontifical standard, and hoisted the flags of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, of the French and their own, on the turrets of the castle. A few days later, a French fleet entered the mouth of the Tiber and landed a number of troops at Ostia. Then the Colonna devastated the neighborhood of Rome, tried to starve the inhabitants of the city and to provoke a revolution against the Pope, whom they were to take a prisoner on that occasion, and to abduct the Turkish prince, Zizim [18].

On the 16th of October, pope Alexander VI ordered to be published against the rebellious barons a ban, which recounted their misdeeds and ordered them to surrender within six days, under pain of confiscation of all their territories and

16. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 355 ; Civiltà, ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 417.

17. The papal ban against the Colonna etc. expresses the word : " proditorie ; " Boccacio, Letter of the 19th of Sept. to Ercole of Ferrara ; Mazzoni, Ms. fo 37vo, ap. Balan, ubi supra, p. 317.

18. Document 143 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 186 ; Domen. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 319 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 356 ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 318.

possessions, the destruction of their houses in Rome—two of which were actually demolished—and of the loss of all their rights and titles [19]. The threat was useless, as was to be expected [20].

Weakened by the recall of the papal troops, while the French army in the Romagna was constantly increasing, the duke of Calabria was compelled to withdraw to Castrocaro, and d'Aubigny was but little molested in his attacks on one castle after another. On the 20th of October, 1494, the French soldiery took, after half a day's fight, the one of Mordano, a dependency of Forli, killed the whole garrison, set fire to the town, and massacred its inhabitants, sparing neither age nor sex [21]. Their cruelty and rapacity filled with dread and terror the whole province. Bubano and Bagnara surrendered to them, and when they threatened to sack Imola, its governess, Catherine Sforza, following the example of the duke of Urbino, of the Bentivoglio of Bologna and of other Lords of Romagna, saved the lives and chattels of her subjects by opening to them the gates not only of Imola but also of Forli.

In the midst of this universal defection, the Neapolitan prince further receded to the city of Cesena, which he stealthily left again for the Marches ; when, at the end of the month of October, he learned of the accord of the Florentines with the king of France [22]. He finally moved further South and camped about San Arcangelo and Monte Rotondo, close

19. Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod 1045, f° 219.

20. We have given more details of this rebellion of the Colonna, when speaking of the disloyalty of the cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Ascanio Sforza, in Vol. III, Ch. XVII. Art. II and III.

21. Johanpetro Cagnola, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. II, p. 191; Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. VI, p. 32 ; Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 324 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 469.

22. Commines, ubi supra ; Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 40; Balan, ubi supra.

to Rome [23]. D'Aubigny followed him with his troops, who stole and robbed every thing in the Pontifical States [24].

While Charles VIII was still in the duchy of Milan, his general, Montpensier, at the front of his main army commenced his Italian campaign by capturing, on the Northern frontier of Tuscany, the castle of Fivizano and cruelly butchering not only all its defenders, but also a large portion of the inhabitants of the town; while one of his captains cut to pieces a troop of three hundred horse, sent out from Florence to assist in defending the fortress of Sarzana [25]. These savage exhibitions of power discouraged all further resistance of the Florentines and drove them to hasten in trying to conciliate the King, by sending to him a splendid embassy with Pietro de' Medici at its head [26].

Charles VIII left Piacenza on the 22d of October, on his way to the South, passing by Parma and Pontremoli. Arriving in this city he was met by Piero de' Medici, who was anxious to win his favor, and, in spite of his league with the Pope and the king of Naples, he actually ceded to him the whole of the Florentine republic, by surrendering, with private authority, all the fortresses of that State : Sarzana, Pietrasanta, Serezzanella, Librafatta and Mutrone—all places of great strength ; and shortly after, he gave up also the fortified cities of Pisa and Leghorn : which was much more, indeed, than the French, who jeered at him, had ever expected to receive [27]. A consequence of Piero's autocratic liberality was,

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23. Bibl. Vatic., Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 2.

24. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 336 ; Commines, End of Ch. VI. Liv. VII of his Memoires, confesses with shame their " desordre and pillerie ; " he denies their abuse of women, but the other accusations were true, he says, " mais du demeurant il en estoit quelque chose. "

25. Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 351 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 118 ; Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 320.

26. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. VII, p. 35.

27. Nardi, Ist. di Firenze, t. I, p. 34 ; Ammirato, Ist. Fiorent., t. V p. 353 ; Gozzadini, Giov. II Bentivoglio, p. 105 ; Commines, ubi supra, p. 36.

at Savonarola's incitement, his expulsion or forced flight from the city of Florence, together with his brothers, Giuliano and cardinal Giovanni, on the 9th of the month of November, 1494.

Placed in possession of the strongholds of Tuscany by the order of Piero de' Medici, Charles VIII triumphantly proceeded from Pontremoli to Lucca, that had rebelled against Florence, and received him with joy.

Here again pope Alexander VI, made an effort to avert the danger of a Turkish irruption into Italy, by restoring peace in the peninsula, promising to the King a coalition of all Christian princes against the common enemy, provided he were only willing to settle his differences with Naples by way of justice. To this effect he named, on the 8th of October, cardinal Piccolomini as his Legate " a latere " to Charles VIII [28]. The cardinal arrived in Florence on the 29th of that month, and left for Lucca on the 1st of November, there to await the arrival of the French monarch and to return to Florence with him [29]. When, however, the cardinal applied for an audience, the King refused to admit him, considering him as a " persona non grata, " since he was a nephew of the late pope Pius II, who had favored in Naples the house of Aragon as against the one of Anjou ; but he sent him word that he would soon be in Rome and would arrange all matters with the Pope himself [30].

From Lucca Charles VIII went to Pisa, where he acted as its sovereign, by granting it freedom from Florence ; and thus caused wars without an end between the two cities.

While he was in Pisa, the people of Florence sent another deputation : four laymen and the prior of San Marco, Savonarola, who enjoyed at the time an unlimited influence in

28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar. Regest. 823, f° 211.

29. P. Delphini, Epistol. Volumen, Lib. IV. Epist. 19, of the 16th of Nov. 1494, to P. Barotius, bishop of Padua.

30. Sigismondo de' Conti, Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, f° 71; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 12 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 356.

public affairs. They were received well and the friar displayed all his eloquence, calling the invader an envoy of God, an invincible Cyrus and the reformer of the Church. His words flattered the vainglorious King, but had no other effect [31].

On the 17th of November, Charles VIII entered Florence with his army, their lances resting on their thighs, as into a conquered place. He was very honorably received ; but the people were soon disappointed in their expectations of a kindly treatment, when they saw his soldiers, high and low, scatter over the city, rob and steal all that came into their hands and even murder citizens of all classes for the sake of their money. In particular did they plunder the jewels and the medal collection of the Medici house, valued by Commines at a hundred thousand scudi. They even arrested Marino Tomacelli, the Neapolitan ambassador in Florence, and exacted ten thousand ducats for his liberty, notwithstanding their solemn promise to let him depart at will [32].

Charles VIII issued from Florence, on the 22d of November, 1494, a deceiving and threatening Manifesto, written in Latin and French, and soon published also in German; imitating in style a papal bull and addressed to all the Faithful of Christ [33].

He commenced by copying the letters which pope Alexander VI had written to him about the cruelties of the Turks and their hostile designs against the Christians, and about the glorious examples of his ancestors. He then answered the papal requests to divert his arms from the kingdom of Naples

31. P. Delphini, ubi supra; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, t. I, p. 37.

32. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. IX, pp. 42, 43 ; Nardi, ubi supra, p. 47 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 325, refer. to Trotti and Manfredi ; Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 335.

33. The Latin text is to be found in Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 428, f° 184 ; Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., Ser. I., t. VIII, P. I, p. 325; Lünig, Codex Diplom., t. II, col. 1302 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 196 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1494, no. XXIII.

to the enemies of the Church, by asserting that he was now, inspired by God himself, on his way to the recuperation of the Holy Land. He added, however, that the kingdom of Sicily was due him, and that he was to recover it, because of the advantages that its possession offered for the success of his main undertaking—for which, in fact, he never moved hand or finger. He further declared,—after his hired soldiers, the Colonna, had captured from the Pope, and were holding in his name, the fortress of Ostia, immediately after taking possession of all the strongholds of Tuscany—that he did not commence his holy work with the intention of seizing the lands or cities of the Italian princes; and he promised not to attack the city of Rome nor any territory of the Roman Church; but, from respect and reverence towards the Apostolic See, to preserve them, as best he could, from all damage and injury.—We will soon see how he kept his word—; yet, since it was necessary to pass through the Pontifical States, to enter Naples and to accomplish our holy design, he said, we beg the Most Holy Father in Christ and Lord, Alexander VI, Pope through the providence of God, to allow us the same kindness, which he has granted to our enemies, namely, free passage through his territories and needed supplies at our expense. But, if he should refuse us those favors, we shall take them by any means at our command. He concluded by saying that, if he should be obliged to use force, he protested his innocence before the whole Church and the princes of all Christianity, whom he intends to convene for the purpose of the holy expedition—as if the Pope had not tried, long before, to unite Charles VIII himself with all other Christian potentates against the Turks [34].

34. We fail to see how the prejudice of Pastor could find in that document a scarcely veiled threat of a convocation of a council and of the deposition of pope Alexander VI (Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 318). His later behavior in Rome proves that Charles VIII did not foster such intentions, and in this very manifesto he reco-

The solemn proclamation of the French king was taken as serious and truthful by his friends and adherents only. The Italians were not slow to conclude from his deeds, that the object of his ambition was not the deliverance of the Holy Land from the yoke of the Infidels. " The Pontiff, the Venetians, the duke of Milan and the rest of Italy suspected his power, " as Aegidius of Viterbo writes [35], " and were frightened by his success and good luck. When they saw him stop at Naples and go no farther, and forget his expedition against the Turks, they accused him of taking possession of Italy under the pretext of conducting a holy war ; of longing for Italy only, while deceitfully blustering about Constantinople and other matters Asiatic. " Even Maximilian, the emperor elect, warned, on the 26th of May, 1496, the next diet of Worms, that the real aim of the king of France had been and was yet the conquest of the greater portion of Italy and the acquisition of the imperial crown [36]. Burchard [37] remarks that Charles VIII made his declaration in order to excuse his invasion of Rome.

The manifesto did not discourage pope Alexander VI in his efforts to obtain from the King a change in his resolutions. On the 14th of November, 1494, the Sacred College was apprised of the failure of cardinal Piccolomini's embassy in Lucca, and, the same day, the Pope sent, in his place, a cardinal whose person would not be disagreeable to Charles VIII, a born Frenchman who had been at his service, the

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gnized Alexander as Pope by the intervention of God. He speaks, it is true, of a convention of Catholic princes, but not of prelates of the Church; not for the deposition of a divinely ordained Pontiff, but for a concerted expedition against the Turks, " Principibus totius Christianitatis, quos convenire intendimus pro hac sanctissima Expeditione. " Nor was there any occasion here to speak of an abject fear of the Pope, for his courage and constancy shone forth from his acts.

35. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod. C. 8, 19 : Hist. XX Seculorum. f° 328vo.

36. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. K. K. Concepten, etc., f° 189.

37. Diar., t. II, p. 196.

cardinal Pérault, bishop of Gurck [38]. This prelate was, however, so devoted to his national sovereign and so ardently disposed to war against the Turks, that he but too readily believed in the misleading declaration of his King, and sided altogether with him. When, besides this, cardinal Giuliano della Rovere laid before him the forged correspondence between the Pontiff and the Sultan of Turkey, Pérault exchanged his quality of an envoy with that of an enemy of pope Alexander VI, remained at the camp of Charles VIII and assisted him in his progress against Rome.

Gregorovius [39] assures us that also cardinal Ascanio Sforza consented to go to Tuscany and negotiate in the Pope's name with the king of France. Already on the 5th of November, Manfredi wrote from Florence to Ferrara, that there was a rumor of Ascanio's coming, and we know that the cardinal met Charles VIII shortly after. But it is by no means clear that, in so doing, he acted as an ambassador of the Pope. If he undertook any negotiations, we may derive from Çurita [40], that the object of these was, in accordance with the plans of his brother, Ludovico the Moro, the abandonment of Alfonso, king of Naples, by the Roman Pontiff ; for we have seen Ascanio endeavor, already before, to obtain this policy from a consistory in Rome, where the Pope had objected that it would be dishonorable and unjust to forsake a dutiful vassal.

Charles VIII was proudly receiving the envoys from Venice and other places, and leisurely enjoying himself in the palace of the Medici, while the Florentines were becoming tired and sick of the French robbers and murderers. The magistrates of the Republic longed for an understanding with the King and for his departure ; yet, they decidedly refused his first

38. Card. Caesarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48, f° 24.

39. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 356.

40. Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 40, f° 50.

demands, namely, that their State should be a province of France, or, at least, tributary to it [41]. When the King threatened to blow his trumpets and sack the city, " And we shall ring our bells ", Pier Caponi exclaimed [42]. An accord was finally concluded, on the 25th of November, by which Charles VIII obliged himself to restore to Florence the city of Pisa and all the towns and fortresses of Tuscany, after two years or sooner, at the close of his war with Naples ; and also to insist upon the rehabilitation of the Medici. Florence was to pay him one hundred and twenty thousand gold florins [43].

When, after the conclusion of this treaty, the French had not yet departed, Savonarola was sent to beg his envoy of God to move on and to go elsewhere reform the Church !

At last, on the 28th of November, Florence publicly rejoiced, on seeing that foreigners advance towards Siena [44].

Although this latter city had made its submission to the King, when he was still in Lucca, and although its people had gratuitously delivered to his soldiers provisions and supplies to the amount of thirty thousand ducats, a contribution of another thirty thousand was demanded from the penniless places [45].

ARTICLE II. — INVASION OF THE PONTIFICAL STATES.

On the 4th of December, Charles VIII left Siena, at the head of forty thousand, or, as Nardi reports [46], of sixty thou-

41. Ammirato, Ist. Fiorent., t. V, p. 355 ; Villari, Girol. Savonarola, vol. I, p. 252 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 325.

42. P. Delphini, Epistol. Volum. Lib. IV. Epist. XXIIII ; Villari, ubi supra.

43. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 334 ; Nardi, Ist. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 51 ; Ammirato, ubi supra, p. 356 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 357 ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 326 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 253.

44. Nardi, ubi supra, pp. 55, 56; P. Delphini, ubi supra.

45. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., vol. IV, p. 336 ; Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 329.

46. Ist. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 57. Raphael of Volterra says, twenty-five thousand cavalry and fifteen thousand infantry, ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1494, no. XX.

sand men, including the drivers of the artillery and baggage and other servants at the camps. He arrived on the next following day at Aquapendente, the first city of the Pontifical States, where he was solemnly received by people and clergy, deceived by cardinal Pérault, who had praised the French soldiers to the sky, telling that they would not accept a chicken or an egg without paying for it ; and he had sent word to them, as also to the inhabitants of all other places where the King might pass, that Our Holy Father had promised to His Majesty to give him free entrance and passage in and through his cities [47].

From Aquapendente the French proceeded, on the 6th, to Montefiascone, and, on the 10th, entered Viterbo, for whose defence Virginio Orsini had mooved too late, and whose castellan, Jacob de' Conti had fled at their approach [48]. Bussi correctly adds [49] that the Viterbese had refused to admit the papal troops sent to their assistance and opened, instead, to the invaders the gates of their city.

The pay of the Swiss and other hired troops of the French army was due long since and, especially after they had left Florence, the provisions were scanty and uncertain [50]. The soldiers, used to robbery, who had no military work to perform on their onward march, undertook to claim both pay and food from the people of the country. They divided themselves into bands and scattered into every direction, thirty and forty miles from their headquarters, and pillaged even the smallest hamlets of the Pontifical States. They even penetrated the little island of Ischia, drove away the natives and stole all

47. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 212 ; Petitot, Coll. de Mémoires, 1re sér., t. XIV, p. 222 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 55.

48. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 360 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 320.

49. Istoria di Viterbo, p. 286.

50. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 69.

they could carry [51]. Many noblemen and persons of rank were taken captives and heavy ransoms demanded for their release. In the course of their pillaging they overtook, on the 27th of November, 1494, Giulia Farnese, wife of Ursus Orsini, a nephew of the Pope, her sister, Hieronima and her mother-in-law, Adriana del Milá, a first cousin of Alexander VI, who were fleeing from their castle of Capodimonte to cardinal Farnese, papal legate of Viterbo. The Pope took an interest in the misfortune of his relatives, and, through his intervention, the noble ladies were before long restored to liberty [52]. According to a letter of Tritti, agent of the duke of Ferrara at the court of Milan. Ludovico the Moro stated that the French did not obtain more than three thousand ducats for their ransom, and he made most insulting remarks against the Pope on this occasion. Although Gregorovius himself observes [53] that Ludovico's hatred of the Pontiff was so great that he cannot be believed, yet many modern authors still repeat his calumnies.

While Charles VIII was on his way from Aquapendente to Viterbo, pope Alexander VI made a last attempt to stop his farther advance. He sent to him Francis Argentino, bishop of Concordia, John Fonsalida, bishop of Terni, and his confessor, Balthasar Gratiano, who had become acquainted with the King, when taking a papal letter to him in France, during the foregoing month of March. Their instructions were to leave no stone unturned in order to preserve Alfonso of Naples on his throne, even by offering to make him tributary to France, as some writers assert. The proud monarch granted them an audience, but cut short their plea, by saying that he would enter into no negotiations except with the Pope

51. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 57 ; Alessandro Benedetti, Il Fatto d' Arme del Taro, f° 8 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 360 and footn. ibid.; De Cherrier, ubi

52. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 87 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 320, 824.

53. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 89, 90.

himself [54]. Indeed, he dispatched to Rome at once his ambassadors, the lord de la Trémouille, Jean de Ganay, first president of the Parliament of Paris and the general of finances, Bidaut.

These envoys entered Rome on the 10th of December, the same day on which pope Alexander VI admitted within the city walls Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, with the remnants of his army of Romagna, together with the count of Pitigliano, the papal captain general. They demanded, in their King's name, free passage through the territories of the Church and supplies for his troops. A consistory was held and, at its end, they received for answer that neither one of their requests could be granted, and that they might so report to their King [55].

De Cherrier thinks that the arrival of the Neapolitan troops had stimulated the Pope to change his mind and give his bold answer to Charles VIII ; while, in fact, he was courageously upholding his former resolution. His blunt refusal was prompted by the favorably progressing negotiations towards the formation of a powerful league of Italian and other Christian princes, in order to oppose the successful conqueror of Italy [56].

Ferdinand of Spain, whose aid the Pontiff was soliciting, had long since declared to Charles VIII that the latter's claims upon the kingdom of Naples must be submitted to the judgment of the Pope, its suzerain. At the capture of Ostia for the French, the Catholic King had equipped his fleet [57]. Recently he had sent his ambassador Garcilasso de la Vega,

54. Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 427.

55. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 200 and n. 3 ; Petitot, Coll. de Mémoires, 1re sér., t. XIV, p. 222 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 65.

56. Von Ranke, Geschichten der Romanischen und Germanischen Völker Buch, II Capitel, § 2.

57. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I, cap. 31, f° 38.

to request His Holiness to persevere in his opposition to the French, promising to assist him with all his might [58]. Towards the end of the year, the kings of Spain resolved to actually send Consalvo Fernandez at the head of their fleet, not only for the security of their island of Sicily, but also for the defence of the territories of the Church, and they ordered him to watch the success of the French [59].

Ludovico the Moro had soon tired of entertaining king Charles VIII, and had been exasperated by the misconduct of his soldiery in the duchy of Milan. He had now obtained the object of his ambition, the Milanese throne, and considered that he did not need any longer the help of the foreigners, who had saved him from the army of the duke of Calabria ; and he now told the Venetians not to be anxious about the French king, because, he boasted, he knew the way of sending him back to his country, without allowing him a foot of ground in Italy [60].

The selfish Seigniory of Venice, who, not to jeopardize any portion of their territory, had refused to listen to the entreaties of pope Alexander VI, saw, by this time, how Charles VIII had taken possession of every fortified place in Romagna and in Tuscany, and how he was appointing his own governors in every city of the Apostolic territories, and they justly feared for their very existence by the side of their new powerful neighbor. They admitted, rather late, that it was prudence to refuse no longer the help which the Pontiff ceased not to request from them.

Self-interest or envy, as Commines calls it [61], the fear for his Italian suzerainty and for his imperial crown, the possible loss of which the Pope himself had lately exposed to his envoy,

58. Çurita, ibid., cap. 28, f° 34; Ammirato, Ist. Fiorent., t. V, p. 345 ; Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 353.

59. Çurita, ibid., cap. 38, f° 48.

60. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, ch. XV, p. 72 : " qu'il scavoit bien la façon de renvoyer le Roy, sans ce qu'il tint rien en Italie. "

61. Ibid., p. 73.

the prince of Anhalt [62], had moved also the King of the Romans, Maximilian, to dispatch special ambassadors, in order to concert in Venice, with those of the Pope and of the duke of Milan, of the kings of Naples and of Spain and of other Christian powers, a general league, in order to drive the French out of Italy. Their conferences and negotiations took place with the greatest secrecy, even during the night, as it is related by Commines [63], who was the French envoy in Venice at the time. The question of common warfare against the invader of Italy was soon agreed on, and the arrangements of the details were progressing satisfactorily.

Pope Alexander VI, who was kept informed of every particular relating to the league, was for some time full of the greatest confidence. He was looking for assistance to come by sea or by land. His expectations were, however, premature. It took time to give a definite form to the new confederacy, to gather its troops and set them in motion. " Leurs conseils estoient longs, et cependant le Roy tiroit avant, " their deliberations were slow, and in the meantime the King went ahead, Commines says [64]. Had Alfonso of Naples, with the squadrons, kept back for the defence of his capital, joined his son, Ferdinand, and the duke of Pitigliano, and offered a serious resistance to the troops of Charles VIII, Venice might have overtaken them in their rear and the Spanish fleet, in their flank, and eventually have driven them back to France. As it was, the only resistance with which the victorious invader met, was the courageous forbiddance of the Pontiff, which he was used to despise.

The gradual loss of his cities did not weaken the Pope's determination to forcibly oppose the King's entry into Rome. He completed the military stores of the castle of Sant'

62. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 320 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 199.

63. Ibidem.

64. Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XV. p. 73.

Angelo [65], he walled up some gates of the City and strengthened its ramparts [66]. As late as the 22d of December, a house was demolished, to make room for a new trench that was to surround the Roman fortress [67]. On the 16th, the Pontiff had called upon the prominent Germans of Rome to arm and organize themselves, in order to resist the French in case of an attack, but they found an excuse. The Spanish residents were likewise requested to assist the papal troops inside the city walls. Nor did he forget his faithful people of Rome, but ordered arms to be distributed among them [68]. For the defence of his cities on the outside he could do nothing any more, and only some hope was left to him that the Orsini might yet make a stand at their fortified towns of Bracciano, Campagnano and others.

Charles VIII left Viterbo on the 13th of December, and, passing through Ronciglione, advanced to Nepi, where he stopped for a few days. Here he received his friend, the cardinal San Severino, sent to him by the Pontiff, with renewed proposals of a tribute to be paid by Alfonso of Naples, who should retain his crown, and of free passage through all, but Rome, of the Pontifical States, in favor of his expedition against the Turks. All his answer was, however, that he would enter the papal city on the eve of Christmas, either with the Pope's consent or without it [69].

Also in Nepi Charles VIII was greatly surprised by the arrival of Carlo Orsini, who, in the name of his father, Gentil Virginio, of his brother, Giangiordano and other relatives, came to offer to the King a proposal that would place him in control of all the territories of the Orsini barons. The French

65. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 359.
66. Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 1.
67. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 211.
68. Id. ibid., p. 201 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra.
69. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 42, f° 53v°; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 72.

had by this time reenforced the garrison of Ostia, taken by assault Suriano, entered Corneto and Civitavecchia, Vetralla and other cities of the Patrimony and of Umbria. Gentil Virginio Orsini, a man devoid of all principles of honor and fidelity, in order to preserve his possessions, if not through downright treachery [70], made a bargain with the victorious monarch, by which he should be personally allowed to keep his position with the king of Naples, while his sons and relatives should enter the service of Charles VIII, and all his territories should be surrendered to the French monarch. As surety of the agreement, the cardinal Pérault was to hold the fortress of Campagnano and some other places, which he was to return to the Orsini after the King should have left the Pontifical States. On the 19th of December, Charles VIII was friendly received at Virginio's castle of Bracciano, where he established his headquarters [71].

This unexpected falling away of the powerful Orsini barons made pope Alexander VI lose all former confidence, and his last hope of keeping the invader out of Rome was at an end.

Ever since the surrender of the fortresses of Tuscany by Piero de Medici and the return of the duke of Calabria with his army from Romagna, the Pope had his misgivings as to his own power to prevent Charles VIII from entering Rome ; and he had been seriously considering the advisability of leaving the City. Should he feel unable to offer him adequate military resistance, he would, at least, through his absence, save his dignity from probable insults of an arrogant conqueror, whom he would at the same time deprive of an occasion to have his injustices and demands excused and legalized

70. " O con grande malicia, como despues se creyo, " as Çurita remarks, ubi supra, Cap. 41, fo 52vo.

71. Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 332 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 118vo; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 362 ; Civiltà Cattolica, ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 418 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 69.

through undue pressure on a Pope become his prisoner. Such were the reasons, after a first sad experience, why pope Alexander VI hesitated no more, in spite of the supplications of the Roman people, to take to flight at the second approach of Charles VIII to Rome, when, after a few months, he was on his dishonorable return from Naples to France.

The Pontiff had exposed his doubts to the Sacred College, to the kings of Spain and to the Seigniory of Venice. Ferdinand of Spain had advised him to save his person and his dignity by retiring, together with the cardinals and the Turkish prince, Zizim, to the strongest place of the Church Dominion, and added that, in the meantime, he was gathering his fleet to come to his assistance [72]. The answer of the Venetians had been, that the Pope should try with all his might to hold out in Rome ; yet, should he wish to seek refuge in Venice, he would be honorably received, kept secure and shown due respect ; and, should they be informed in due time, they would send three triremes to convey him and his suite. They recommended to him to take along prince Zizim well guarded [73]. The College of cardinals, leaving the important decision to the Supreme Pontiff, promised to follow him wherever he might choose to repair [74].

ARTICLE III. — ZIZIM, THE TURKISH PRINCE.

As the reader may wish to become better acquainted with the Turkish prince, Zizim, just mentioned and of whom more shall presently be told, we here make a short digression, to relate a few incidents of his unfortunate career.

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72. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 38, f° 48.
73. Çurita, ibid., Cap. 42, f° 53; Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch. Bd V, s. 559 ; De Cherrier, ubi supra, t. II, p. 12.
74. Çurita, ibid., Cap. 41, f° 51vo.

Zizim [75] was the second son of the late Mohammed II, and the younger brother of Sultan Bajazeth, from whom he claimed his father's throne as being the first born after Mohammed had become emperor of Constantinople [76]; or, according to some writers, as being his first legitimate son.

Defeated near Brusa in Bithynia, by his brother's general, Achmet Saducis, he gathered the remnants of his troops and, assisted by the prince of Cilicia, he gave battle once more in the Taurus mountains, but was crushed and pursued a second time. After sending his wife and children to the Sultan of Egypt, he fled to the island of Rhodes, where, at the age of twenty-eight years, he arrived on the 23d of July, 1482, and placed himself under the protection of Peter d'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem [77].

The Knights received him with great demonstrations of honor and sincere rejoicings. Sultan Bajazeth, who was in fear of renewed and stronger attacks, made haste to conciliate the Grand Master of Rhodes by making him rich presents, and proposed a treaty with him. He promised to pay every year on the 1st of August, the sum of forty thousand ducats [78], until his death, for the care and custody of Zizim; and promised in the meantime, not to molest the Christians.

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75. He is generally called Zizim by Italian historians, although he was named Zemi or Gemi by the Turks, Leunclavius says: Pandectes Historiae Turcicae, Cap. 154, p. 353. Other writers variously designate him as Zizimus or Zizymus, Zizin, Zaliab, Giemes, Gem, Djem, or Djemm.

76. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1482, no. XXXVI.

77. Sagredo, Memorie Storiche de' Monarchi Ottomani, p. 97; Leunclavius, Pandectes Histor. Turc., Cap. 154, p. 353; Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Rebus Gestis, Lib. V, p. 142; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1482, no. XXXVI; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 293.

78. This amount is wrongly reported by several authors, as 35,000, 45,000, 60,000 ducats, and even as "quadringentae auri librae", by Bembo, Historiae Venet., Lib. I, p. 32.

Peter d'Aubusson and his knights readily accepted those conditions [79].

Zizim was, indeed, a most valuable acquisition for the Christians. Full of hatred against his brother, he would destroy his empire, should he ever be placed at the head of a strong Christian army or fleet, which thousands of his co-religionists would undoubtedly join. Pantaleone relates [80] that, in the year 1480, Bajazeth was preparing troops and numerous vessels to sail through the Dardanelles ; yet, relinquished all his warlike apparel, when the Grand Master of Rhodes threatened him with sending Zizim against him. In fact, Zizim was, as long as he lived, a dreaded menace for his imperial brother.

Fearing, however, that Zizim's presence would draw Bajazeth's hostilities upon his Rhodian community [81], Peter d'Aubusson, with the approval of the Pope and the consent of the king of France [82], removed his refugee to one of the French houses of his Order. Zizim himself, for greater security from the artifices of his brother, had, already on the 17th and again on the 22d of August, requested his host to convey him farther to the West ; and he actually left Rhodes for France, on the 1st of September of the year 1482 [83].

After stopping a short time at the knights' castles of Rumily in Savoy, of Sassenage in Dauphiné, of Monteil and of Bois-

79. Bosio, Dell' Istoria della Sacra Religione di S. Giovani Hierosolimitano, vol. II, Lib. 13, p. 467 ; Leunclavius, ubi supra ; Pantaleone, ubi supra, p. 413 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra.

80. De Rhodiorum Rebus Gestis, Lib. V, p. 143.

81. Sagredo, Memorie, p. 97 ; Bembo, Historie Venet., Lib. I, p. 32.

82. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1482.

83. Bosio, Hist. della S. Religione di S. Giovani, Vol. II, Lib. 13, p. 456 ; Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Rebus Gestis, Lib. V, p. 143 ; Bembo, ubi supra ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 293. If Thuasne, Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 335, n., had known this detail, he would not have accused Peter d'Aubusson of perfidy, for treating Zizim not as a guest but as a prisoner. The knights of St John everywhere accorded to the Turkish prince all freedom consistent with his personal safety.

l'ami, he finally arrived at the preceptory of Bourganeuf in the Limousin, where he was confided to the care of the prior of Auvergne, Guido of Blanchefort, and there led a quiet, uneventful life, disturbed only on the 10th of March, 1487, by an armed unsuccessful attempt of the duke of Lorraine to kidnap him [84].

Several kings requested the French monarch, and, it is said, offered him great sums of money, to obtain the guardianship of the Turkish prince, promising to lead him at the head of their armies against the Grand Turk, his brother. Mathias Corvinus of Hungary, Ferdinand of Naples, Ferdinand of Spain and the sultan of Egypt are mentioned as applicants [85]. They all were refused by king Charles VIII and by the knights of St. John, who declared that they were keeping Zizim in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff.

When, however, the same knights united their requests to those of pope Innocent VIII, the French king allowed the prince, with an escort of four hundred horse, to be taken to the Pontifical States, in spite of sultan Bajazeth, who wanted his brother's detention to be continued in distant France [86]. According to Buser [67], the Pope was to pay a large sum of money to Charles VIII, but in the royal document, giving the reason and conditions of this transfer, there is not a word of money [68]. Zizim landed in Civitavecchia on the 6th of March, 1489, and on the following 13th, he was solemnly received in Rome, where, at his first meeting with the Pontiff, he gave proof of his independent spirit, by refusing to submit to the customary ceremonies [89].

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84. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartres, t. III, p. 288.

85. Bosio and Gregorovius, ubi supra ; Zeitschrift der Kirchengeschichte, V. 512 ; Bérault-Bercastel, Hist. de l'Eglise, t. X, p. 54 ; Buser, Die Beziehungen der Mediceer zu Frankreich, s. 260.

86. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 335, n 1.

87. Die Beziehungen, s. 260.

88. Burchard, ibid., p. 546.

89. Burchard, ibid., pp. 335 336, 526.

Ample quarters were assigned to him in the Vatican palace, where he had his own housekeeping and his own chosen servants. His private expenses amounted every month to four hundred ducats and his personal cash provision to four hundred [90], besides the support of his three dozen of guardians from the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He was treated with the highest consideration, and pope Alexander VI, to whom he was left at the demise of pope Innocent VIII, sometimes took him along, for his recreation, on the pilgrimages which he made to the churches of the City [91].

Although carefully guarded, the Turkish prince was not quite secure in Rome ; for the Sultan, his brother, tried to make him innocuous, not only by paying for his detention abroad, but also by contriving means to have him put to death [92]. In the month of May, 1490, a certain Christopher Castanea forfeited his own life by trying to poison him. When, on the 30th of November of the same year, an ambassador of Constantinople insisted upon handing to him a letter of his brother, Zizim, seated on his throne, he received the envoy kneeling before him, but would not, for fear of poison, accept the missive, before its bearer had licked it all over [93]. An anonymous contemporary relates yet another attempt [94].

When pope Alexander VI, who was informed of those criminal designs, learned that more machinations were being devised against the safety of the prince, he changed the whole plan of his guardianship. On the 5th of October, he dismissed Zizim's numerous guard of Rhodian knights, further curtailed his liberty beset with danger, by placing him in the fortress of Sant' Angelo, and entrusted his care and security to the two

90. Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, fiis CXLII, CXLIII, 145, 145vo.
91. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 69.
92. Burchard, Diar., t. I, pp. 335, 544 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 296.
93. Gregorovius, ibid.
94. Impressum Mantuae per Vincentium Bertochum. Anno MCCCCLXXXXVIII.

knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Galcerand and Francis de Borgia, his own trusted cousins [95].

We shall presently relate how, a few months later, the Pontiff was compelled to take away from his new asylum the unhappy prince, upon whom he had built his fondest hopes, and to give him up into the hands of his own victorious enemy.

ARTICLE IV. — CHARLES VIII ENTERS ROME.

As king Charles VIII was nearing Rome and one papal city surrendered to him after another, a plan was formed for the escape of the Pontiff from his hands. Pope Alexander VI should retire to, and remain in, Tivoli while the French should pass by Rome towards Naples; and, in case that they should follow him, he should, according to circumstances, flee further into Neapolitan territory, or to the Adriatic coast and to Venice [96].

By the 18th of December, it was becoming more and more evident, not only that the Pope would be utterly unable, with his few thousands of discouraged men, to keep out of the city a victorious army of fifty thousand soldiers, but also that every way of escape was either cut off or getting unsafe; for, while the country north of Rome was rapidly falling into the power of the invader, his advance guard was joining the troops of the Colonna and Savelli, who were in possession of the south and of the sea coast from Ostia to Nettuno. If the Pope was to avoid meeting Charles VIII his flight had become imperative and urgent. And indeed, Burchard reports [97] that

95. Bosio, Dell' Istoria della Sacra Religione di S. Giovani, Lib. 13, p. 515.

96. Çurita, ibid., Cap. 42, f° 53. The Codex LV, 27, fiis 1 to 12. of the Roman Barbarini library is a narrative, of the expedition of Charles VIII against Naples and of his capture of Rome. Although confriendly towards pope Alexander VI and rather succinct, it agrees in all essentials with our relation.

97. Diar., t. II, p. 211.

everything was, at that time, in readiness for his departure; the kitchen utensils and the ornaments of the papal chapel were packed, the furniture and valuables of the palace had been moved to the fort of Sant' Angelo, and the horses of the cardinals were all shod and in readiness.

Instead, however, of taking to flight, the Pontiff courageously resolved to wait for the worst in Rome, and, persevering in his former policy, he sent a last ambassador, cardinal San Severino, to the King in Nepi.

Charles VIII was determined not to accede to the Pope's request but, knowing that his absence from the City would defeat his most important designs, he detained the cardinal until the 22d of December, in order to keep up the Pontiff's hopes and thus to delay or avert his suspected withdrawal [98].

With the same intention he dispatched three more envoys, Stephan De Vesc, seneschal of Beaucaire ; the Grand Marshal de Gié and the president Ganay, who arrived in Rome on the eve of Christmas. The object of their mission was to renew the King's old demands of free passage and of provisions for his troops and to require the duke of Calabria's removal from Rome. They were especially instructed to assure the Pope, that their King had no intention of interfering with the rights of the Supreme Pontiff of the Church [99].

Pope Alexander VI granted, at last, the demands of Charles VIII. What else could he do ? Rome was almost surrounded by his enemies and even the road to Tivoli had

98. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48 post f^m 24 ; Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 331, Refer. to the ambassadors Taverna and Trotti.

99. Burchard, Diar.,t. II, p. 215; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 430 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 365 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 63. From this denial of any evil intentions of Charles VIII in regard to the spiritual rights of the Pope, it is evident again that all the comments and vagaries about a conciliabulum and the deposition of pope Alexander VI under his authority, are mere inventions of prejudiced and hostile writers.

become unsafe [100]. Already since the 19th of December, the whole neighborhood was scoured by French cavalry detachments, in quest of provisions and of all kinds of plunder [101]. On the 20th, they took the castle of Isola, a few miles from the City, and they pushed their inroads even to the summit of Monte Mario, only half a mile from the Vatican palace, and even into the prairies behind the fortress of Sant' Angelo [102]. On the night that the French envoys were in Rome, they even attacked the Leonine City, while the Colonna made an assault on an opposite quarter; but they were beaten off by its defenders and a fierce storm ; while the Romans, armed by order of the Pope, were guarding their homes [103].

The City was in danger of being captured at any moment and unable to stand a siege for any length of time, suffering as it was, from the scarcity of food caused by the Colonna, who stopped since more than three months all navigation on the Tiber from Ostia, and, for some time, all travel over the highways leading to Rome from the South. And now, the dearth had become more distressing, in consequence of the predatory raids of the French troops north of the City [104]. Threatened with the sword and suffering from hunger, not only the Roman people but also the members of the papal court were clamoring for an agreement with the French king [105]. Pope Alexander VI could oppose no longer.

The first concession which he made to Charles VIII was the dismissal of the duke of Calabria with his captains Virginio and Nicholas Orsini, and his army reduced to six thousand

100. Balan, ubi supra, p. 332.
101. De Cherrier, ubi supra, p. 68.
102. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXIII, 48 f° seq. 24 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 41, f° 52vo.
103. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra.
104. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, Cod. 1323 or 33, A. 2, f° 24 ; Çurita, ubi supra, Cap. 41, f° 53.
105. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 322.

men [106]. He had informed the duke on Christmas eve [107], and the following day, before the celebration of solemn Mass, he called together the college of Cardinals and, in the duke's presence, he declared to them his determination. After divine service, he invested the prince with the insignia of a royal knight of Jerusalem, gave him the investiture of his duchy and, after an invocation and his blessing, took leave of him. That same day, December the 25th, 1494, the duke of Calabria departed from Rome [108]. Ammirati, Becchetti and De Cherrier [109] mistake in assigning the 31st of December as the date of prince Ferdinand's withdrawal.

Gregorovius likewise mistakes when he tells us [110] that the duke of Calabria left Rome for Tivoli, " wütend ", in a rage over the defection of the Pontiff. Prince Ferdinand did not fail to see that a longer stay was to be not only useless, but dangerous even to himself. He left, on the contrary, as a thankful friend of the Pontiff, as it appears from a written offer of asylum in the kingdom of Naples, made to the Pope at the moment of their parting.

To bolster up their false assumption of the Pope's cowardly and vacillating mind at the approach of the French army, Pastor and the authors hostile to pope Alexander VI generally misrepresent the proffer of duke Ferdinand, calling it a formal treaty between him and king Alfonso [111], according to

106. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 3, says : Five thousand foot and eleven hundred horse, between the soldiers of the Church and those of the king of Naples.

107. Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 332.

108. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 214 and footn. ibid., Çurita, ubi supra, f° 53vo ; Balan, ubi supra; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 365 ; Gaddi, ap. Rome, Bibl. Corsin. Cod. 1323, f° 25.

109. Respectively : Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 360 ; Ult. Quattro Secoli, vol. VI, p. 245, and Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 76.

110. Ubi supra, s. 365.

111. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 322 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 364 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 67. The offer of Ferdinand is styled at the Paris Archives Nationales, L. 378, Caps. XVII, no. 28, and Arm. 2, Caps. 5, no. 42, as : " Articles du traité conclu entre le pape Alexan-

which the Pontiff would have resolved to flee to Naples, after having accepted the conditions of the latest French ambassadors, and at the very time that he was sending a cardinal to Charles VIII to receive him into the City ! But there is not a word of any such intention, neither of any other future action or duty on his part in the whole document, which is merely a proposal of what the duke and his royal father were desirous to do in his favor. There is not even an indication that the offer was accepted ; for, as Pastor artfully remarks, nothing was wanting to the so-called treaty, but the signature of the Pope—only that essential. In fact, the offerings were very generous, but made too late to be of any avail.

The substance of the pretended agreement was as follows : Our Holy Father, pope Alexander VI, shall, with the College of cardinals and all his court, have, at all times, free ingress, stay and egress in and from the kingdom of Naples, where he shall enjoy the protection and assistance of king Alfonso. King Alfonso promises not to enter into a treaty with the king of France without the consent of the Pontiff, from whom a similar action is expected. The king of Naples promises to restore to the Pope all places and territories, which might become lost to him on the occasion of the present hostilities. King Alfonso promises to pay by monthly installments, to the Pontiff, as long as he shall remain in the kingdom, the yearly sum of fifty thousand gold ducats and ten thousand for the support of Zizim, brother of the Grand Turk. The castle of Gaeta shall be assigned to the cardinal of Valencia, who shall hold it in the King's name, for the keeping of the said prince Zizim. King Alfonso promises to pay to the cardinal of Valencia the usual salary of a castellan of Gaeta and to provide for the extraordinary expenses caused by the custody of Zizim. Finally, the duke of Calabria promises to have the

dre VI et Ferdinand, duc de Calabre, fils du roi de Sicile Alphonse II, contre le roi de France.—5 Décembre 1495.

above items ratified by the King, his father, within the space of twelve days. The document is dated December the 25th, 1495 [112], and signed : " ferdus " [113].

Ferdinand, the duke of Calabria, left Rome, accompanied to the gate of St. Lawrence by the cardinals Caraffa and Cesar de Borgia. He went to Tivoli where he was not admitted, and, passing by Frosinone, that also refused him entrance, he joined his uncle, Frederic, the duke of Altamura, in the fortified papal city of Terracina, held by a Neapolitan garrison [114].

The same day that he dismissed the duke of Calabria, pope Alexander VI, after consulting the Sacred College, sent to Bracciano the cardinal of Monreale, Giovanni de Borgia, as his legate, together with three other envoys, in order to grant also the other demands of Charles VIII, and to arrange with him the conditions and particulars of his entry into Rome [115]. Certain articles were agreed upon. The Pontiff conceded free passage and provisions at a fair price to the French troops ; he left for the use of the King, during the time of his expedition, the port and town of Civitavecchia, and to the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere the fortress of Ostia; he granted pardon to the cardinals who had rebelled against him and sided with Charles VIII. The King likewise promised to spare his former opponents. Çurita reports [116] that he also swore not to do any injury to the person or the estate of the Pope, nor to his dignity and preeminence. Although unable to offer efficient resistance, the Pontiff took care of his personal independence and honor ; for he refused to surrender the castle of Sant' Angelo and the right bank of the Tiber ; the Leonine city, the Transtevere and the apostolic palace, in which he

112. The first day of the new year, according to the Roman style.

113. See Document 157.

114. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 214 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII, f° 243 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 42, f° 53vo.

115. Burchard, ibid., p. 213.

116. Ubi supra, f° 53vo.

offered, however, to lodge the French ambassadors. He gave up all the left bank of the river, or Rome proper, to the use of the French, and assigned the palace of San Marco as head-quarters to the King [117]. According to Sanudo, Charles VIII demanded the Turkish prince, Zizim, but the Pope was willing to hand him over only in case that the French king should start on his vaunted expedition against the Infidels [118]. The time of entering the City was left to the King's discretion.

Sanuto states in his Annals of Venice, that he does not report the above articles of agreement, because, he says, they were of no effect and Charles VIII refused to sign them [119]; but cardinal Julianus Cæsarini, who was present at the time, assures us, that on the 31st of December, pope Alexander VI read to the Sacred College the " assecuramentum regium, " the assurances given to him by the French king [120].

We have noticed before that, also on the Christmas morning of the year 1494, the Pope set at liberty the confederate of Charles VIII, the rebel cardinal, Ascanio Sforza.

It was, furthermore, duly published that the Pontiff had resolved to admit Charles VIII into the City, and the Roman people were admonished and commanded, under threat of severe penalties, to offer no resistance to the French troops ; and the consequence was that squads of foreign soldiers commenced, on the 26th of December, to enter and to leave Rome without any hindrance, preparing the quarters of the King and of his nobles, and the encampments and lodgings of the soldiery [121].

In the morning of the 31st, the Pope sent an embassy of prominent Roman citizens to meet Charles VIII, with the

117. Card. Caesarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48, f° seq. 24 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 75.

118. Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch. Bd. V, s. 560, n. 3.

119. Zeitschrift, ibid.

120. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., ubi supra.

121. Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 532.

object of welcoming him to the City and of recommending its people to his kindness. Hieronymus Porcius, who has left us many interesting details on pope Alexander VI, was the speaker of the honorary deputation. The King hardly deigned to give him an answer, but plied with questions the master of ceremonies, John Burchard, who had also been sent with the bishop of Nepi, to greet and instruct the monarch in the ritual of his reception by the Pope [122].

On the last day of the year 1494, a Wednesday, Charles VIII made his entry into Rome, as its conqueror ; the first king of France to enter the City, since Charles-the-Great had, in the year 800, visited it as its benefactor and a defender of another falsely accused Pontiff, Leo III, who crowned him, at Christmas of that year, as the first emperor of the Christian Empire The contrast in every respect could hardly be greater.

The King's arrival had been announced for noon of the following day, but, on the 31st of December, his troops marched, in continuous procession, on muddy roads, across Ponte Molle and through the gate of Santa Maria del Popolo, from three o'clock in the afternoon until late after dark, Charles himself rode in the train, followed by a few cardinals disloyal to the Pope, the rebellious Italian barons and the nobility of France. Out of fear, the Roman people, who had prudently hidden and buried their money and valuables, received him with acclamations of " France, France ! Colonna ! " and " Vincula ! ", and they lighted his way with bonfires and innumerable torches. Arrived at the palace of San Marco, the King dismissed his escort and retired to his apartments [123]. The artillery was set up in front of the palace, and some

122. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 216 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 365.

123. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra; Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 216, 217 ; Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Chap. X, pp. 47, 48 ; Petitot, Collection de Mémoires, 1re série, t. XIV, p. 421 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 42, fo 53vo ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 366, 367.

houses, that obstructed the range of the cannon, were leveled with the ground [124].

The keys of all the gates of Rome had been surrendered to the grand marshal of France, de Gié, and king Charles VIII commenced to act as master of the City, appointing as its governor, his general, de la Trémouille [125].

The Pope had, that same afternoon, intoned, and assisted at, Vespers in the papal chapel, as usually [126].

ARTICLE V. — BEHAVIOR OF THE FRENCH IN ROME.

A Venetian chronicle [127] relates as " a wonderful event never again heard of, " that no injury whatever was committed at the entry of Charles VIII into Rome ; but it did not take long before the invaders let loose the reins of their insatiable covetousness, of their wild bestiality and of their barbarian cruelty. Following are a few recorded instances of their misdeeds.

De Cherrier himself admits [128] that, during the very following night, they perpetrated acts of violence that provoked the people to armed self-protection.

On the 2d of January, the Colonna, or their men, stole horses from the stables and even publicly on the streets, pulling down their riders [129].

On the 3d of January, the Colonna and the French plundered the houses of the nephew of cardinal Caraffa, of James de' Conti, of Bartholomeo de Lucca, a chamberlain of the Pope,

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124. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 328 ; Gilles, Croniques de France, vol. II, f° 115vo ; Gregorovius, ubi supra.

125. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 217 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 333.

126. Burchard, ibid.

127. Burchard, ibid., p. 217, n. 1.

128. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p 79.

129. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 218.

and of other citizens. The Frenchmen, to keep house in their own fashion, broke open dwellings here and there, got in and ejected the owners, burned up the wooden furniture, ate and drank whatever they could find, without paying for anything; and they gave rise to many complaints. Thereupon, the King issued, on the 4th, an order forbidding, under pain of the gallows, to enter any building by force [130].

On the 6th, ten armed soldiers wounded the hostler of cardinal Cæsarini, broke into the stable and stole two horses. The following night they returned, but were received by armed watchmen and driven away [131].

On the 8th, there was figting all over Rome, especially on the Square of the Jews, where a few were killed and a great many wounded. Swiss and Gascons attacked the bank, where Marcus Mattei was stabbed to death. The house of the Roman citizen, Paul de Branca, was plundered by the French, who killed his two sons and more than eight others, among whom a woman, upon whose corpses they exercised their rage and left them lying naked on the street [132].

Burchard reports [133] that, on the same day, many Jews were murdered and their houses robbed. According to contemporary dispatches from Rome, condensed and sent by ambassador Trotti to the duke of Ferrara, king Charles VIII ordered, or at least permitted, his savage soldiery to butcher the unfortunate exiles, whom pope Alexander VI was sheltering in the ghetto. Mazzoni [134] bluntly says : " he ordered ", which, however, may be too harsh. De Cherrier states that one, a grocery merchant, lost eight thousand ducats. He accuses of those outrages principally the Swiss hired soldiers, robbers by nature, he says.

130. Burchard, ibid. ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 371.

131. Card Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48 f° post 24.

132. Card. Cæsarini, ibid., Burchard, ubi supra, p. 219 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 371.

133. Ibid., p. 220.

134. Ms. f° 49vo, ap. Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 334.

Also on the 8th of January, the soldiers plundered the palace of the noble lady Vannotia de Cathaneis, mother of cardinal Cesar de Borgia [135]. The details of this occurence as given by the generally unreliable Gaddi [136], are untrue and impossible. He tells that Cesar supposed his mother to have given occasion to the robberies, etc.

Prospero Colonna himself, although a rebel against the Pope, was indignant at the excesses of the French soldiery, and made bitter complaints to the King ; and when Charles VIII shrugged his shoulders and answered that he could do nothing, he expressly blamed him for his inaction [137]. The people of Rome, greatly exasperated, commenced to gather about the Capitol, threatening an attempt at revenge upon their wanton guests, and cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, frightened at their attitude, admonished the King, that, should his soldiers not cease to be murderers and thieves, there was danger of a popular insurrection. Then Charles gave strict commands and restored for a while a semblance of order [138]. He had a gallows erected on Campo dei Fiori and another on the Square of the Jews, and several criminals underwent due punishment : Ambassador Manfredi writes, about twenty-five; Gilles reports six [139].

Malipiero relates [140], and so also Gregorovius [141], that, on the 13th of January, the French sacked again one half of the

135. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 220.

136. Ap. Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 1323, f° 33.

137. Letter of Da Corte from Rome, of the 12th of Jan., 1495 ; and of Trotti from Milan to Ferrara, of the 23d, ap. Balan, ubi supra, p. 335.

138. Mazzoni, Ms. fiis 50vo, 51, ap. Balan,ibid.

139. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 235 ; Manfredi, His letter of the 14th, ap. Capelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 339 ; Gilles, ubi supra— The culprits were evidently soldiers of the French army ; yet, two French historians, Jean Bouchet, Le Panégyric du Chevalier sans Reproche, ap. Petitot, Collection de Mémoires, 1re série, t. XIV, p. 421 ; and De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 104, awkwardly turn them into Roman priests and deacons, " prebstres ou diacres. "

140. Ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 330.

141. Ubi supra, s. 372.

City, while the King was riding around to enjoy the sights of Rome [142]. The damage done this day amounted to forty thousand ducats, besides the destruction of the Jewish synagogue [143]. Gregorovius copies Malipiero's excuse for this barbarian devastation, attributing it to the fury of the French at the pretended stubborness of the Pope, in refusing to answer to the propositions of peace offered to him. But, as we shall notice soon, already on the 10th, the Pontiff had submitted to the conditions imposed on him by the French king. Gregorovius himself sets aside [144] another motive for excusing the excesses of the French, to wit, an attack on them made by the count of Pitigliano [145], who had, in fact, left Rome with the duke of Calabria, on the 25th of the previous month.

Burchard records [146] one of the last riotous conflicts, which took place on the night of the 22d, between the Swiss of the French army and the Spanish defenders of the castle of Sant' Angelo, and in which several were killed and thrown into the Tiber. The following morning, two Swiss were beheaded, one at the Capitol and the other on the bridge of Sant' Angelo.

Bishop Boccaccio wrote from Rome to the duke of Ferrara, an ally of the French king, on the 22d of January, 1495 : They commence to speak of the King's departure, so ardently longed for by all Romans, who have learned to hate him and his Frenchmen, held as worse than the Turks... If God hears the voices of the oppressed and of the Saints, they will yet fare ill. They have left neither vine nor tree in Rome or in

142. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 221.

143. Gilles, Croniques de France, vol. II, fo 115vo ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 372.

144. Ibid., s. 368.

145. As described at length by von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 218.

146. Diar., t. II, p. 233.

its neighborhood [147] ; never was greater barbarism exhibited [148].

According to contemporary letters from Rome to Milan, king Charles VIII and his nobles were thieves no less than his common men. Ambassador Trotti wrote on the 15th of January, 1495, to Ercole of Ferrara : Charles VIII made war on the barons of the Campagna, and despoiled the Conti of nearly all their possessions, leaving them only Montefortino ; and, in violation of his sworn contract with the Orsini, nay, as if he were demented, he acts as if he were the owner of what does not belong to him, and proves to the Italians that he wants to be the master not only in Naples but everywhere. The French have now usurped nearly all that belongs to the Orsini, and the King gives, donates and divides among his nobles, who pretend to have claims upon them, the territories and localities, which his soldiers occupy, quite according to his whims and good pleasure. Ercole's Roman ambassador wrote, on the 13th, in about the same terms, and added that few of his counselors were honest and virtuous [149].

We will conclude this odious subject with the reliable testimony of the most esteemed of Charles VIII's own courtiers. William Briçonnet, bishop of St. Malo, wrote from Rome to the queen of France : " If justice were observed better than it is, we would be welcomed and worshipped everywhere : but the robberies and extortions that are committed, and remain unpunished and unrestored, give us a bad name;

147. This reminds one of the cutting down of the orchards in Belgium and Northern France by the savage descendants of the Vandals, in the late war.

148. Ap. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 337.—Pope Alexander VI describes the stay of the French in Rome, when he exclaims in his bull of the 25th of August, 1495 : " Ineffabile dictu est et miserandum auditu quot quanteque violencie, cedes, ruine, incendia, captivitates, exactiones, prede, furta, domorum effractiones, extra Urbem prius et in terris nostris et Sancte Ro. ecclie. perpetrate, in ipsa Urbe in foro Romano per gentes tuas te presente renovate fuerunt... : Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Latinus 24598, f° 2.

149. Balan, ubi supra, p. 334

and yet, evildoers are upheld. In a word, no one does his duty " [150].

The bishop of St. Malo, who thus censured the French authorities in Rome, was not unlikely the King's counselor to recommend the severe measures, which restrained at last the misdeeds of the French soldiers ; and, not unfavorable, as he was, to the policy of pope Alexander VI, ever since his embassy in Rome, he exerted upon the young ambitious monarch such an influence as to make him concede the best obtainable conditions of an agreement with the Pope. He is, indeed, said [151] to be the author of the treaty, that was concluded between them, after a few days of negotiation.

On the day following the entry of Charles VIII in Rome, the cardinals, with the exception of Caraffa and Orsini, went, with the approval of the Pontiff, to the palace of San Marco, to pay him an honorary visit ; but they were coldly received. More honor was shown to cardinal Cæsarini, who called on him the 2d of January, and found him surrounded by the cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Pérault, Colonna and Savelli [152], who were doing what they could to denigrate their legitimate Superior and, as it is reported by later historians generally, to incite the King towards assailing the Sovereign Pontiff, even in his spiritual authority.

Malipiero informs us that " Charles VIII called to San Marco some cardinals for the purpose of obtaining money and of learning their disposition in regard to the Pope. Cardinal Grimani was the first to be invited, and he was well liked, because he procured him ready cash. From those who told him that they had no money, he asked their silverware, saying that he would satisfy them after finishing his Neapo-

150. De Cherrier, ubi supra, p. 82. Ref. to Bibl. de Nantes, Campagnes et Bulletins, p. 314.

151. Platina, ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 560 ; Benedetti, Il fatto d'Arme del Taro, f° 8.

152. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48.

litan enterprise. He made the silverware into coin bearing the inscription : " Carolus Imperator ". Thus Malipiero [153].

While Charles VIII was feasting and enjoying himself in the palace of San Marco ; pope Alexander VI continued to assist at the divine offices of the Church in the Vatican chapel [154].

Anxious to rid the City, as soon as possible, of its lawless invaders, and to learn the intentions of their master, evidently embittered against him, the Pope sent, on the 4th of January, to Charles VIII a deputation composed of the cardinals Pallavicini, Sangiorgio, de Carvajal and Riario ; who tried to remove from the King's mind the sinister effect of the calumnies poured forth by their unworthy colleagues. The contemporary historian, Sigismondo dei Conti,[155] places, among other words, the following ones on their lips : " Let evil tongues say what they please, but Alexander VI is certainly holier now, or is, at least, as he was, when raised to the Supreme Pontificate, not a hypocrite nor a man unknown ; but after he had occupied for thirty-seven years a high dignity, that caused the publicity of not only his actions, but of every word of his; and those who are now his detractors were then his principal supporters, so that he did not miss the vote of a single cardinal. The unanimity of his election was so complete, that it seems as if he had been proclaimed Pope not by the voice of man, but of God himself. If you wish, Sire, to appear worthy of your title of Most Christian King, you must not violate the majesty of such a Pontiff, but show him all respect and filial love ".

Their discourse full of truth, the historian continues, made an impression on the heart of the King.

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153. Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. d'Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 329.

154. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 219.

155. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 90.

He condescended to send to the Vatican, that same day, three ambassadors : the count de Bresse, John de Montpensier and the president of the Parliament of Paris, John de Ganay [156] ; yet, with a series of demands expressive of the arrogance of a triumphant invader. He had, already on the 1st and 2d of January, told the cardinals who paid him their visit, that he would require the help, " conseil et aide ", of the Pontiff in the conquest of Naples ; also the person of the cardinal of Valencia, Cesar de Borgia, with the title of a papal legate, but in reality as a hostage; and, in addition, he demanded the surrender of the castle of Sant' Angelo, for his security [157]. Now, he exacted also the possession of the cities and fortresses of Civitavecchia and of Spoleto, the guardianship of the Sultan's brother, Zizim, the pardon of all the Pope's disloyal subjects and the restoration, in all their rights and possessions, of the cardinals and of the barons and lords of the Pontifical States, who had favored his cause in spite of the Pope [158]. He concluded his claims by saying that he would look for an answer the following day.

The Pontiff, being overtaken by a severe indisposition on the afternoon of the 5th of January, could not give a reply before the 6th [159]. He had been in hopes that Charles VIII would remain satisfied with the terms agreed upon at Bracciano, where some of the new demands had already been conceded ; but, when he had heard the King's envoys, he hastily convoked the College of Cardinals and, upon their advice, refused to accept the exorbitant conditions of peace offered to him [160]. He answered that it was not customary for legates to be named by Kings, but by the Pope after mature delibera-

156. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 221 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 84.

157. Burchard, ibid., p. 658, 659.

158. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret. Ann. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 350 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 334.

159. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, post fm 24.

160. Card. Cæsarini, ibid.

tion with the Sacred College ; that there was no reason to remove the Turkish prince from where he was, but intimated that he would yield him, if the King was to direct his expedition against the Turks ; and, as to the castle of Sant' Angelo, he assured Charles VIII that he was holding that fortress as Head of Christianity, in the name of the Christian princes, who had made obeisance to him, and that he would rather die than surrender it [161].

On the reception of this message, the angry monarch sent word to the Pontiff, that he would give him six days to reconsider his resolution [162].

Pope Alexander VI did not expect but an assault and, seeing that he was not safe from the robberies and outrages of the King's troops, he resolved, on the 6th of January, to leave his palace and retire to the castle of Sant' Angelo, which was defended by three thousand Spanish and Roman soldiers, the only place where he might find any security. Six cardinals, peculiarly devoted to him, accompanied him in his flight ; namely, the cardinals Caraffa, Morton, Giovanni and Cesar de Borgia, Orsini and Sangiorgio [163].

During the night between the 9th and the 10th, about thirty feet—fifteen, according to another report—of an old wall of the fortress crumbled down, under the weight of recent superstructures and of ammunition, in consequence of the heavy rains of the previous days [164].

The unexpected event was no miracle, as Commines declared it to be, but it proved to the Pontiff that resistance to the French was impossible, and it moved him to greater liberality towards the King. Charles VIII also became less exacting.

161. Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 4 ; Çurita del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 42, f° 53vo.

162. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 659.

163. Burchard, ibid., p. 220.

164. Burchard, ibid., pp. 220, 659 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, post f^m 3 ; Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XII, p. 56 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 84, who renews the accident three times.

The understanding between them made such progress that, in the evening of the 10th, the Pope unreservedly announced the conclusion of a definite agreement. But, the following day, the King had changed his mind, and revoked all that had been concerted. He now wanted the possession not only of Civitavecchia and Spoleto, but also of Terracina and Viterbo [165]. He even emphasized his demands, by bringing up and training his heavy artillery on the castle of Sant' Angelo, where the Pope was residing [166]. According to Malipiero and Gregorovius [167], Alexander VI sent word to the King, that, should the fortress be bombarded, he would, himself, walk on the walls, with the holy heads of St. Peter and St. Paul in one hand, and the Blessed Sacrament in the other—as St. Claire had, in her day, opposed the Sarracenes. Not a shot was fired, however [168]. The excitable young monarch had, besides Briçonnet, some counselors who were not unfavorably disposed towards the Pontiff [169], and these advisers made their King understand that, before the eyes of the Christian world, he had already acted rashly by invading the city of Rome, and that woe would betide him, if he should draw a weapon against the Head of the Church. Gregorovius imagines that he would have pleased Europe, had he leveled the Roman stronghold. He, certainly, would have rejoiced the Protestants of Europe, forty years later ; but the action

165. Manfredi, Dispatch of the 14th of Jan., 1495, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 338 ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 335, Ref. to Dispatches of Boccacio, dated the 12th and 13th of Jan. and to Mazzoni, Ms. f° 50.

166. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII. Ch. XII, p. 56 ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 335.

167. Respectively, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I, t. VII, p. 330, and Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 371.

168. Commines, ubi supra.

169. On the 20th of Jan. 1495, pope Alexander VI named bishop of Amiens, Germain de Ganay, a counselor of the French king and brother of the president of the Parliament of Paris, John de Ganay, of whom it is said in the bull of appointment, that he helped in the settlement of the difficulties arisen between the Pope and Charles VIII. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. II, III, t. XVI, Regest. 787, f° 45.

of Spain and of the Holy League proved sufficiently, that same year, how imprudently Charles VIII had maltreated pope Alexander VI.

As soon as the cannon were withdrawn, the negotiations were taken up again, the French king replacing his demand of the castle of Sant' Angelo by that of the fortresses of Tivoli, Frosinone and Terracina and, for his personal accommodation, of all other castles of the Pontifical States [170]. The Pope, on his part, agreed to consider again the conditions rejected at first.

ARTICLE VI. — THE POPE IS COMPELLED TO SUBMIT TO THE KING.

On Sunday, the 11th, the Pontiff came to an agreement with Philibert de Bresse, the King's uncle and lieutenant, about the surrender of Zizim, and the impunity of the rebel cardinals. Burchard says [171], also about the crowning of Charles VIII as king of Naples, without prejudice to any other party ; but Benedetti and Gregorovius [172] state more correctly, as appears from the sequel, that the Pope firmly continued to refuse this concession.

Through letters written in Rome, already on the 13th of January, Venice was informed that the French king and the Pontiff had come to an understanding [173], and, on the 15th, it was learned by all Rome, that the treaty was duly concluded [174].

We have found, among the French National Archives, a contemporary copy of the agreement, giving the signatures

170. Malipiero, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., Ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 330.
171. Ubi supra, p. 200.
172. Fatto del Taro, fo 9vo ; Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 374.
173. Malipiero, ubi supra, p. 331.
174. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra.

of " Alexander papa VI manu propria ", and of his secretary, B. Floridus, converted into " B. flondus, " under the date of the 15th of January, 1495. Thuasne prints [175] a later, extended and less correct copy, with the signature of the King's secretary, " Robertet. "

The principal contents are as follows :

Considering their good intentions in the past, the Pope and the King shall never ask any indemnity for what they did against each other.

The cardinal of Valencia, Cesar de Borgia, shall accompany the King for the space of four months.

The Pope shall hand the Turk, Zizim, over to the King, who shall guard him in Terracina and not remove him without the Pontiff's consent.

The King shall give caution through a bank of Rome, that the tribute of forty thousand ducats, which the Pope is accustomed to receive on account of Zizim, shall continue to be paid to the Pope.

The King shall restore the Turk before his return to France and, as security thereof, shall bind all the noblemen and prelates that are with him, in the sum of five hundred thousand ducats.

Should the Turks make war against the Pope, the King shall defend His Holiness.

The Pope shall surrender Civitavecchia to the King, who shall return it at the end of his expedition.

Merchants and provisions shall have free entry into the Pontifical States.

The Pope shall grant free passage to the French army and also provisions, to be paid for by them.

The King shall be admitted to lodge in any fortress, and

175. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 661.

his men shall be secure in any place of the territories of the Church.

The places occupied shall be restored within twelve days, except those favoring king Alfonso.

The King shall, after his expedition, give back Ostia to cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.

The Pope shall forgive all who have assisted the King, such as Aquapendente, Montefiascone, Bolsena, Viterbo.

The Pope shall reinstate all delinquent cardinals, who shall promise fidelity and obedience in the future.

The Pope shall forgive all injuries done him by the Colonna, Savelli, Vitelli, Jerome Tuttavilla and others, and the King shall likewise forgive the Orsini, James dei Conti and others.

The Pope shall name another governor of the fortress of Cesena, to be designated by the King ; likewise a legate of the Marches of Ancona and of the Patrimony ; and shall appoint as legate of the Campagna the cardinal Colonna.

The Pope shall not do anything against the Prefect of Rome, Giovanni della Rovere, nor against any of his men who have aided the King.

In regard to the matter of the forty thousand ducats and goods stolen by Giovanni from the Pope, the King shall attend to it inside of four months.

Then follow five articles about the cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Pérault and Savelli ; and the lords de Colonna, Savelli, Vitelli and Jerome Tuttavilla ; of which we have spoken in the last chapter of our third volume.

The King shall, at his departure from Rome, return to the Pope the keys of its bridges and gates.

The King shall not request anything in regard to the castle of Sant' Angelo.

The King shall in person make act of obeisance to the Pope.

The King promises not to offend the Pope neither in matters

temporal nor spiritual, and to defend him against all who would occupy territories of the Church.

The Pope shall give surety for himself and the people of Rome, that they shall not offend the King nor his followers, nor ask help from his enemies,—who were, at the time, king Alfonso and his adherents [176].

Such was the agreement by which the triumphant invader humiliated a defenseless Pontiff beneath his rebel subjects; and, by which he practically took possession of his States; promising to yield him obeisance after having shorn him of all authority. Its form of a treaty was sufficient to make pope Alexander VI observe all its specified obligations, but its articles were a series of commands, which the Pope was not free nor able to oppose, without incurring greater evils. Moreover, if the French king should afterwards find to be burdensome any apparent concession that he had made, he would either discuss it over again, as he did, on the next following 18th of January, the caution given for the restoration of Zizim [177]; or he simply would neglect it, as he did the restitution of the money stolen by Giovanni della Rovere. Nor must be overlooked the fact that he flagrantly violated several stipulations of the pretended treaty, before he ever reached the boundaries of the kingdom of Naples.

We have, on the contrary, seen already how the Pope was in a hurry, so to say, to issue bulls and briefs, in compliance with the hard duties imposed upon him, to grant pardon to, and restore in their former rights and possessions, his disloyal cardinals and rebellious vassals. He also forgave the defection of the cities that had in spite of him, admitted the French troops. His bull to that effect, dated the 7th of February, 1495, is still preserved at the secretariat of Viterbo [178].

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176. See Document 158.
177. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 226, 229.
178. Bussi, Istoria di Viterbo, p. 286.

A few writers have blamed pope Alexander VI, when saying that he was not faithful to the " league " contracted with Charles VIII. Ugolini [179] in particular asserts that the Pope entered into a " confederacy " with the King of France ; but, with worse than Carthaginian faith, soon associated with Milan and Venice against him. Wm. de Villanova and Natalis Alexander also speak of the " coalition " violated by the Pontiff [180]. Who shall, however, find any idea of a confederacy, coalition or league in the articles of agreement just given, by which Charles VIII actually made the Pontiff his dependent and not his ally ? Nor could the King, in mentioning his enemies, have had in mind the Venetians or the duke of Milan, who appeared, then, either neutral or in league with him. In his letter of the 15th of August, 1496, to the archbishop of Mainz, Charles VIII himself bitterly complains of the rapacity of Venice and of the treachery of Ludovico the Moro, but has not a word of blame against pope Alexander VI [181].

Faithful to his agreement of Bracciano, the French king had visited on the left bank of the Tiber several places of Rome, but had abstained from crossing the river, till he had signed his treaty with the Pontiff. On the 16th of January, he went to hear H. Mass at St. Peter's basilica, and took lunch at the Vatican palace, where apartments had been prepared for him. After that, he went through the cypress garden, to meet the Pontiff who returned that afternoon from the castle of Sant' Angelo [182]. " He found him praying with knees bent to the

179. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 69.

180. Ap. Martène et Durand, Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum, vol. III, p. 1507 ; Hist. Eccles., t. XVII, p. 50.

181. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. K. K. f° 13 : an original paper ; Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII. P. I. p. 441.

182. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 221, 660 ; Card. Cæsarini ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48; Malipiero, ubi supra, p. 331.

earth. At this sight, he and the lords of his suite were struck with awe, and suddenly moved to love, respect and venerate the man, whom, through evil reports, they had learned to hate before; convinced, as they now were, that they had been deceived by calumniators " [183].

The Pontiff would not admit the King to the customary kissing of the feet, but made him stand up and embraced him. After thanking the Holy Father for signing their agreement, Charles VIII requested him to elevate his esteemed counselor, Briçonnet, bishop of St. Malo, to the dignity of a cardinal. The favor was granted at once, and the hat conferred in the hall of the Consistory, where fourteen cardinals had gathered to wait for the Pope and the King [184]. After the ceremony, the Pope offered to accompany the King to his apartments in the Vatican, but his courtesy having been declined, Charles VIII was shown to his suite of rooms by the cardinals, while the Pope retired to his own quarters.

The following day, Charles VIII unexpectedly requested an interview with pope Alexander VI. He wanted to do away with the security he had given for the restitution of the prince Zizim after a six months retention. The matter was discussed for three long hours, and, finally, two notaries public were called in, to draw up a new contract modifying the concerned article of the recent treaty [185].

The 19th of January was the day set for the solemn act of obeisance to be made by the French king. Twenty cardinals, a great number of the French nobility and other people had assembled in the hall of the Consistory. Before the act took place, president de Ganay, in the King's name, asked of the Pope three favors : 1st, that he confirm all the privileges ever

183. Aegidius, Viterbiensis, Hist. XX. Secul. ap. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod. C. 8, 19, f° 328 ; Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 152.

184. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 224 ; Malipiero, ubi supra ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 373.

185. Burchard, ibid., p. 226.

granted to the King, his Queen and his first-born son ; 2d, invest the King with the kingdom of Naples, and 3d, abolish altogether the article agreed upon the previous day, about the security for the restitution of the brother of the Grand Turk. The Pope granted the first petition, but refused the second and the third ; yet, in as friendly terms as possible. He answered that, as for the investiture of Naples, there was question of possible wrong to a third person, and it required, therefore, further mature deliberation with the College of Cardinals, but that he would do what was possible to please the King. Guicciardini says that the Pope made a formal promise to invest Charles VIII with the Neapolitan kingdom, but he is sustained, in his false assertion, neither by any document, nor by the reports of any contemporary ambassador [186]. As regards the third request, he was willing to make a further accord, provided the cardinals would consent. as he expected they would. Thereupon king Charles VIII stoop up and pronounced these words : " Sainct Père, je suis venu pour faire obedience et reverence à Vostre Saincteté de la façon que ont faict mes Predecesseurs Roys de France. " This formal statement was then explained as follows by president de Ganay : " Holy Father : The Most Christian kings of France were in the habit of offering, through ambassadors, their respects to the Holy See and its occupants; but our Most Christian King, who was to visit the graves of the Apostles, desirous to manifest his piety, has resolved to do as they did, not through orators and envoys, but in person by himself. Holy Father: he professes and recognizes you to be the Sovereign Pontiff of all Christians, the true Vicar of Christ and the Successor of the Apostles Peter and

186. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 334. When sending the bishop elect of Melfi to Naples, on the 17th of August, 1495, the Pontiff states that, in fact, he never invested the king of France with the kingdom of Naples : Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869. fo 185vo.

Paul, and he presents to you his filial and due respect, as his predecessors, the kings of France were accustomed to do, and he offers himself and all that is his to Your Holiness and to the Holy See [187]. The Pope gave him a short appropriate answer, and then led Charles VIII by the hand to the hall of the Parrot, where he divested his sacred robes, and separated from the King, who returned to his apartments.

For the gratification of Charles VIII, the Pope celebrated, on the 20th of January, a Pontifical High Mass, at which no less than twenty thousand people, nearly all French soldiers, assisted, in and in front of, St. Peter's basilica. His Holiness was served at the washing of hands by the highest nobility of France : by the lords de Foix, de Montpensier and de Bresse, and by the King himself, who was pleased to hold the towel and basin and to pour the water on the Pontiff's fingers, after H. Communion. At the end of the H. Sacrifice, when the Pope and the King returned to the Vatican palace, the holy relics of the Veronica, or true image of Our Suffering Lord, and of the Sacred Lance were exhibited to the crowd exclaiming : " Miséricorde, Miséricorde ", Mercy, Mercy ! [188].

On the 21st, pope Alexander VI, at the insistence of Charles VIII, created cardinal Philip of Luxembourg, bishop of Le Mans, who was also the maternal uncle of the King [189]. He also bestowed many favors upon other favorites, and reserved several French dioceses for them. The College of cardinals approved his grants all the more willingly, as they were in contradiction with the French Pragmatic Sanction [190].

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187. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 229 ; Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra ; Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 1323 or 33, A. 2, f° 31 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 373.

188. Burchard, ibid., pp. 230, 666 ; Torrigio, Le Sacre Grotte, p. 489 ; Gilles, Croniques de France, vol. II, f° 115vo.

189. Burchard, ibid., p. 233.

190. Card. Cæsarini, Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48, post fm 24—For instance, on the 21st of Jan., 1495, was made an Apostolic Notary the twelve-years-old son of the lord de Prenes, a counselor of Charles VIII, and other favors were bestowed on him : Archiv. Secret.

On the 25th of January, the King took a ride on horseback, together with the Pope, followed by a brilliant suite of cardinals and noblemen, to the basilica of St. Paul outside the walls. On their return to the Vatican, he took leave of the Pontiff and went with his followers back to the palace of San Marco, where he remained till his departure from Rome [191].

On the 27th, the Turkish prince, Zizim, was transferred from the castle of Sant' Angelo to San Marco and assigned to the custody of the King [192].

A few days before, Charles VIII had sent a division of his troops towards the Neapolitan province of the Abruzzi and another towards the city of Terracina. These huge robber bands met with no opposition ; terror preceded them and suffering and destruction followed in their train [193].

At last, in the morning of the 28th of January, 1495, the King, at the head of his main army, came to the Vatican palace, had a conversation with the Pope, privately, at first, and then in the presence of cardinal Cesar de Borgia ; he courteously took his leave, and, with Cesar by his side, to the regret of the Romans, as Jean Bouchet says [194],—under their

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Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. II III, t. XVI, Regest. 787, f° 267. So was favored, on the same day, the eleven-years-old son of James de Silley, the major-domo of the King : Ibid., f° 269vo. On the 27th, the Pope reserved for cardinal Briçonnet the diocese that would first become vacant in the duchy of Brittany: ibid., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. II, III, t. XVII, Regest. 788, f° 49. On the 5th of February, letters of reservation of the diocese of St Pons de Thomières were issued in favor of Benedict Adam, " faithful and pleasing to Our most beloved son Charles, king of France " : Ibid., Bullar., an. III, IV, t. XXVII, Regest. 798, f° 31vo.

191. Burchard, ibid., pp. 234, 235 ; Auct. passim.

192. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 235.

193. Rome, Bibl. Vatic., Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 5 ; Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27.

194. Le Panegyric du Chevalier sans Reproche, ap. Petitot, Collection de Mémoires, 1re série, t. XIV, p. 421.

curses and maledictions, as the contemporary ambassadors Boccaccio and Trotti report from Rome and Milan, on the 28th of January and the 3d of February, 1495 [195], he left Rome for Marino, a place of the Colonna, where he arrived that same day [196].

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195. Balan, Ist. d'Italia, t. V, p. 337.

196. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 336 ; Auct. passim.

CHAPTER VI.

Charles VIII in the kingdom of Naples.

ARTICLE I. — BLOODY PROCRESS TO NAPLES.

When he reached Marino, Charles VIII received the information, that Alfonso II of Naples had abdicated and left his kingdom. The Pope heard of the event about the same time [1]. Indeed, at the approach of the French army, a large number of the nobility and of the people, so long tyrannized by their Aragonian masters, had gone into open rebellion; and Alfonso, in hopes that his subjects might yet rally around his son, Ferdinand, a prince more humane and generally better liked, had him proclaimed King in his stead, on the 23d of January, 1495. Taking his treasures with him, he himself set sail for the island of Sicily and, in the city of Mazara, retired to a monastery of Olivetans, devoted himself to Christian penance and died on the 19th of November of that same year [2].

The following day, January the 29th, Charles VIII proceeded to Velletri, where two occurrences took place that greatly disturbed his frivolous equanimity. Apprised of his conquests in Italy and especially in the Pontifical States, the kings of Spain sent to him two ambassadors, Antonio de Fonseca and Juan de Albion, who arrived in Rome the day on which the French had left. They overtook the French king near Velletri and, admitted to an audience, Fonseca sternly reproached

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1. Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 338 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 237.
2. Becchetti, Ultimi Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 248 ; Balan, ubi supra, t. V, p. 337 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 376.

the invader for breaking his word, by trying to usurp the kingdom of Naples by force of arms, instead of submitting his claims to the Sovereign Pontiff, who, as suzerain, was the natural judge to decide ; he accused him of having coerced the Pope to deliver to him the territories of the Church, of retaining cardinal de Borgia, rather as an hostage than as a legate ; of having abused his power against all Italians, caused revolutions, levied tribute and so on. He protested his master's right to defend the Pope, who had been expressly excepted from their alliance of Barcelona. Charles VIII replied that no injustice had been done the Pontiff, who had entered into a treaty with him voluntarily and with full liberty of action ; that the Pope could give his decision about Naples, after he should have conquered it ; that, moreover, he had now gone too far to retrace his steps. Thereupon Fonseca drew from his pocket the document of the treaty of Barcelona, tore it into shreds and cast them before the King's feet, while exclaiming that, before the tribunal of God, his masters, Ferdinand and Isabella, were henceforth absolved from all the obligations imposed by the treaty. The French lords there present were incensed and exasperated and wanted the ambassadors to be seized ; but after calmer consideration, these were allowed to go, and went to Rome again before returning to Spain [3].

The second untoward event that happened in Velletri was the flight of the papal legate, Cesar de Borgia, who escaped from the King and from the city during the following night, disguised as a groom, and rode to Spoleto by the way of Rignano, without passing through Rome, so as not to com-

3. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 42, f° 54 ; J. Favé, Etudes Critiques sur l'Histoire d'Alex. VI, p. 68 ; Wm. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II. Part. 2, Ch. I, p. 285 ; Balan, Ist. d'Ital., t. V, p. 338 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 377 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 332.

promise the Pope [4]. Burchard, however, relates [5] how the Pontiff was told, on the 30th of January, that Cesar had fled from Velletri, and that he passed the night at the house of Anthony Flores, a judge of the Sacred Rota—which, time being taken into consideration, was hardly possible.

The news of Cesar's action frightened the Pope and the whole City. The Pope dispatched, the following day, the bishop of Nepi, to protest his innocence in the case ; and the Romans sent also special ambassadors to the King in Velletri. Philip de Bresse was deputed to the Vatican, to express the great displeasure of Charles VIII, but pope Alexander VI assured him that he had not been aware of the cardinal's intended flight, and knew nothing of his present whereabouts [6]. The Seigniory of Venice informed the French envoy, Philip de Commines, that, according to letters received from Rome, the Pope was highly displeased at the escapade of cardinal de Borgia, and had ordered to search for him, with the intention of returning him to the King, in order not to appear as untrue to the late treaty [7].

Charles VIII seems to have admitted the explanations of the Romans and of the Pontiff ; for, although but twenty-six miles away from the City, he did not attempt to take any revenge, but treated the whole incident with complete indifference, and had even words of excuse for a young man who had saved his freedom [8].

In spite of all this, pope Alexander VI stands accused of perfidy, on the occasion of Cesar de Borgia's flight, not only by the French André de la Vigne [9], but by such unreliable

4. Sigismondi dei Conti, Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 101 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 238, footn. ; Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 162.

5. Ibid., p. 238.

6. Burchard, ibid., p. 240 and footn. 2.

7. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, p. 161.

8. Sigismondo dei Conti, ubi supra, p. 102.

9. Le Vergier d'Honneur, ap. Burchard, ibid., p. 238, footn. 1.

writers as Bower and Gordon, by De Magri [10] and Gregorovius [11], who deign not give a single argument to sustain their calumny. Alvisi [12] falsifies Burchard, to make him say that Cesar de Borgia sent messengers to notify the Pope of his having been or being at the house of Anthony Flores in Rome.

Burchard relates [13] that, in the afternoon of the 2d of February, were brought back to the City from the court of the French king fourteen trunks of those which the cardinal of Valencia had taken along when leaving Rome. This fact explodes the story which the diarist had been told three days before ; that, namely, seventeen of his traveling boxes had been opened by the King and found to contain nothing of value ; but, he had wisely added : I believe that they told me a lie [14]. André de la Vigne [15] is not sparing in his blame of the cardinal of Valencia, but neither he nor any other contemporary has a word of the fiction ; while modern slanderers improve upon it, by having the trunks filled with stones !

Charles VIII held his court for a few days in Velletri, and during this time his troops made the conquest of the whole Campagna. In spite of his recent treaty with the Pope, his soldiers attacked Monte Fortino, a defenseless castle of James dei Conti, massacred the inhabitants and burnt down the whole place. The sons of the Lord were spared, but taken along as prisoners [16]. Then, the King went on by the way of Valmontone and, on the 6th of February, proceeded by Ferentino and Veruli to Monte San Giovanni, where, under his eyes and at his command, a similar destruction and a horrible carnage

10. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 661.
11. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 376.
12. Cesare Borgia, p. 18.
13. Ubi supra, p. 241.
14. Ibid., p. 238.
15. Vergier d'Honneur, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 238, n. 1.
16. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48, post f^m 24 ; Contelorius, Genealogia, p. 26 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 377 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 117.

of men, women and children took place as in Monte Fortino. His advance guard had already subjugated Sermoneta and Terracina [17]. He took possession of Terracina and Carpento and of the adjacent territories, and allowed his soldiers to ravage the whole Campagna and its sea coast [18]. To complete his perfidy, Charles VIII, as if he had been the suzerain of the Pontifical States, granted to the Colonna the conquered possessions of the Conti and of the Gaetani barons [19].

The fall of Monte San Giovanni, which was considered impregnable, and the barbarism of the French created such dread and horror among the remnants of the new King's, Ferdinand's, army, that Charles VIII hardly met with any obstacle in his further march towards Naples. He next arrived in Pontecorvo, and, the following day, at the stronghold of San Germano, which Trivulzio, Virginio Orsini and the count of Pitigliano had evacuated in order to go and defend Capua [20], where Ferdinand also had arrived from Naples, to stop before the Volturno his enemy, who was advancing through the valley of Mignano. A revolt of his capital called away the Neapolitan king, and in the meantime Jacopo Trivulzio treacherously surrendered the fortress to the French, on the 13th of February, while Virginio Orsini and Pitigliano gave themselves up in the city of Nola [21].

When returning to his capital to quell its rebellion, king Ferdinand saw that all was lost, with the exception of the castle of St. Vincent and of the fortresses of Castellum Novum and of that Dell'Ovo, where he took refuge. On the 19th of

17. Card. Caesarini, ubi supra; de Villanova, an eyewitness ap. Martène and Durand, Thesaurus Novus, t. III, p. 1508, n. 9.; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27; Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 6; Cantu, Gli Sforza e Carlo VIII, p. 24; De Cherrier, ubi supra, p. 119.

18. Benedetti, Il fatto d'arme del Taro, f° 8vo.

19. Bull of Alex. VI ap. Munich. K. Staatsbibl. Cod Lat. 24598, f° 2.

20. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 7vo.

21. Bibl. Barberin., Ibid., Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 378.

February, Charles VIII reached the city of Aversa, and was here invited by a deputation from Naples to make his entry into that capital, which received him well, on the following 22d. This same day king Ferdinand fled to the island of Ischia [22].

Thus had Charles VIII attained, almost without a skirmish, the object of his expedition and subdued the greater half of all Italy. The Pope was right when saying that the French had overrun the peninsula with wooden spurs and chalk pencils ; meaning their men-at-arms had found nothing to do, and their quartermasters, only to mark the houses as lodgings for the troops.

ARTICLE II. — DID THE POPE POISON ZIZIM ?

On the 25th of February, 1495, an event took place which was a great loss to Christianity, and gave occasion to new slander of pope Alexander VI, namely, the death of the Turkish prince Zizim.

" Zizim was always guarded at the headquarters of the French king, but before Charles VIII entered Capua, he contracted a catarrh, it was said, that settled on one of his eyes and on his stomach ; maybe it was rheumatism. The King took him along to Naples, where physicians carefully attended to him and bled him. He got somewhat better, but the fever increased, and he refused further attention, so that, as Fate would have it, he died of his sickness on the 25th of February " [23]. Such is Sanudo's report of Zizim's sickness and death, which is upheld by historians generally [24].

22. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 242; Cæsarini, Rome Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48 ; Manfredi, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Mem., t IV, p. 342.

23. See more fully Document 159.

24. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 242 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. II, fo 58vo ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 379 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 334 ; De Cherrier,, who mistakes " January " for February, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 135 ; Balan, Istoria d'Ital., t. V, p. 337.

Sanudo opens the list of the Pontiff's calumniators, when adding : " Charles VIII manifested great sadness on the occasion, and the Pope was ' suspected ' of having administered slow poison ; " yet he remarks that " this was unbelievable, because he would have done it to his own detriment, " by forfeting the yearly tribute of forty thousand ducats for Zizim's guardianship. But, he continues, " the French said " that the Pope had given Zizim poisoned into the hands of their King, because some signs of poison were found on his body after death,—as it was the custom at the time, to discover such indications on the corpse of every prominent personage [25].

As Philippe de Commines reports, the French king had in his power the brother of the Turk, but " it was said " that he was poisoned when delivered to him [26].

Malipiero relates that Zizim was always well cared for and ate at the King's table, yet became very ill and was taken to the Neapolitan castle of Capua to be healed ; but " they say " that he was poisoned [27].

Guicciardini asserts that it was " firmly believed " that the death of the Turk was caused by poison given him by the Pope [28].

Jovius tells us that Zizim " was believed " to have been killed with poison by the Pope [29].

So does Leunclavius afterwards report, that " it is related " how the Pontiff gave to the Turkish prince a slow poison to drink [30].

No one will be surprised to find the same rumor repeated

25. Ap. Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch., Bd. V, s. 569 : Franzesi diceva el papa ge l'havea dato attosicato.

26. Mémoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XIV, p. 64 : Et disoit-on qu'il fut baillé empoisonné.

27. Ap. Zeitschrift, ubi supra ; Se dise che l' è tossicato.

28. Ap. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 135 : Si credette molto constantemente.

29. Turcicarum Rerum Comment. ap. Zeitschrift, ubi supra, s. 568, n. : Veneno, ut creditum est, ab Alexandro papa interfectus.

30. Pandectes Historiae Turcicae, Cap. 154, p. 353 : Zemi venenum propinasse lentum traditur.

by later historians, such as Bérault Bercastel, who says that the Pope was " suspected " generally and " said " to have poisoned Zizim before handing him over to Charles VIII [31]; as Cantu, asserting that Alexander, unable to refuse Zizim to the French king, ordered him poisoned, before delivering him, such at least " was the rumor, " he adds [32]; or as Gregorovius, who writes that " they said at once " that poison, in the form of a white powder, had been given him by Alexander [33]. De Cherrier assures us that " according to a widespread belief "—in France—" Alexander was accused " of being the author of Zizim's death [34].

Modern writers continue to repeat the ancient irresponsible detraction, and thus admit that the enemies of pope Alexander VI have searched in vain for proof of his guilt. Rehearsed no matter how often, those hollow aspersions remain of the scandalmongers' brand, whose label, " they say ", they bear.

We found but one contemporary writer to affirm that the Pope was guilty. Nardi, the Florentine historian, writes that Charles VIII returned to Rome, indignant because Alexander had given Gemme, the Sultan's brother, poisoned into his hands, in order to prevent him from making any use of Zizim against the Turks [35]. The only circumstance added to the assertion, the Pope's object in committing the imputed misdeed, is a sufficient proof of its falsity ; for, what good was it to do him, if Charles VIII should thus be prevented from defeating the Turks, whom the Pontiff himself had already denounced so often as threatening all Christianity, and Italy in particular, with incursion, devastation and ruin ? But, the very contrary of Nardi's allegation is the truth ; as appears

31. Hist. de l'Eglise, t. X, p. 550.
32. Hist. Universelle, Liv. XV, Ch. III, p. 115.
33. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 379.
34. Ubi supra, p. 136.
35. Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 73 : Gemme, il quale acciò che il re di lui servir non si potesse contra Turchi, gli era stato dato dal papa nelle mani avvelenato.

from the letter of pope Alexander VI to the bishop of Concordia, his legate to emperor Maximilian, in which he accuses Charles VIII of having wrested from him the Sultan's brother, Zizim; who perished, he adds, while in his power, and through whose death Christianity has lost a suitable means to oppose the unbridled fury of the Turks against the Christians [36].

The notorious Gordon [37] and, even later, Ferronus [38] also accuse the Pontiff, but without offering any proof or authority.

A cause of the pretended crime, more common than that of Nardi, is given by Pantaleone, who tells that Bajazet had negotiated with the Pope to have his brother murdered, and promised a great amount of gold. Consequently, Alexander, " as it is said ", gave Zizim poison to drink, before delivering him to the French king [39].

Jovius reports [40] that, " they say, " Alexander, to earn the large sum of money proposed for the murder of Zizim, mixed deadly poison with sugar for him to drink.

Romanin [41] relates how cardinal Pérault told the ambassador Braccio, that the Sultan had offered to the Pope two hundred thousand ducats for Zizim's corpse, and that now he thought of the latter's death what was to be thought of it.

Sagredo [42] says that pope Alexander VI, not satisfied with the forty thousand ducats of yearly tribute for Zizim's guardianship, sold himself for a greater sum of cash money to Bajazet, promising to poison his brother. The charge is accompanied by two other blunders : that the unfortunate prince lived only three days after taking the potion and that he died at Terracina.

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36. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secretar., ann. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 350. Published by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1495, no. XVI.
37. Alexandre VI, t. I, p. 164.
38. De Rebus gestis Gallorum, ap. Zeitschrift, Bd. V, s. 568.
39. Johannitorum Rhodiorum de Rebus gestis,, Lib. V, p. 143.
40. Hist. Sui Temporis, Lib. II, p. 47.
41. Storia documentata di Venezia, ap. Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 379, n.
42. Memorie, p. 97.

According to Bérault Bercastel, the price of the crime had been set at three hundred thousand ducats [43].

The source and foundation of this sordid motive of crime are evidently the pretended letters of the Sultan Bajazet to pope Alexander VI, intercepted or rather forged by Giovanni della Rovere of Senigallia ; in the last of which the Sultan is made to promise to the Pope two hundred thousand ducats for the assignment of Zizim's corpse at some transmarine place [44]. After we have established that all those letters are mere forgeries and fiction, we deem it unnecessary to further refute the baseless charges here again.

It may be of interest, however, to notice how, after all, pope Alexander VI was cheated out of the pay, if we should believe the strange tale of Leunclavius [45]. He says that Mustapha Bey, the Turkish envoy, that accompanied the papal legate, Buzardo, but miraculously escaped from his captors, was destined by the Sultan to do the wicked deed, and succeeded in doing it, with the help of " Frank—and Rum—Beg, that is, of the (French) prince of Italy and of the Roman prince, the Pope ; although it is not stated anywhere that he ever was in Rome. Yet, finally, the prince of Italy, that is, some French lords, as a Florentine writer puts it [46], gave permission to Mustapha Bey to take the corpse of Zizim and all his servants to Brusa, and got several thousands of ducats. Heidenheimer justly remarks that this story is rather a jumble. Burchard states [47] that the corpse was afterwards delivered to the Grand Turk ; and Jovius, that this was done by Frederic II, king of Naples, to win the favor of the Sultan [48]. Ranke simplifies the tale wonderfully [49] by saying

43. Hist. de l'Eglise, t. X, p. 550.
44. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 209.
45. Ap. Heidenheimer, Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch., Bd. V, s. 552, 553.
46. Archiv. Vatic. Politicorum Varia, XLVII, f° 349, who makes Zizim die in Gaeta.
47. Ubi supra, p. 242.
48. Rerum Turcicarum Comment., ap. Zeitschrift, V, 571, n.
49. Geschichten, s. 52.

that Zizim died suddenly, " plötzlich ", killed by Mustapha Bey, with the assistance of Frank and Rum Beg. Ranke's authority is Daru, who [50] quotes the Turkish historian Saadud-din-Mehemed-Hassan, to assert that the Pope sent a barber, Mustapha Bey, who passed the sentries of Charles VIII's headquarters and went to shave with a poisoned razor the Turkish prince, who, although usually very suspicious, was fatally imprudent in submitting to the tonsorial operation of the stranger. This poisoning by a barber did not, however, suit Sismondi [51], who replaced him with Cesar de Borgia. Cesar, he tells us, found time and opportunity to drug Zizim, while he was making ready for his own flight from Velletri !

To be in earnest again—We notice that the common charge against pope Alexander VI is the one of administering poison to Zizim, before surrendering him into the hands of Charles VIII, on the 27th of the month of January; which, indeed, seems to be the only possible time for the crime to have been perpetrated, since we are told that the King guarded him well and that Zizim ate at the same table with him. The dates of his sickness, the 13th, and then of his death, the 25th of February, constitute, therefore, a sufficient refutation of the charge ; for, where is the deadly poison that, absorbed by the human system, shall allow a person to remain hale and healthy for two weeks, and then bring about a sickness relieved by bloodletting, and causing unavoidable death at last ?

Such a capriciously working " slow " poison is said to have the exclusive property of the Borgias ; patented, it would seem, for the benefit of their enemies, who should repeatedly accuse them of murder—and be short of proofs to support their incriminations [52].

50. Hist. de la République de Venise, t. IV, p. 19, n. 2.

51. Hist. des Français, t. XV, p. 202.

52. " The Oregon Sunday Journal " of Portland, Oregon, lowered itself on the 17th of December, 1922, by printing an illustrated page, entitled: " Borgia's Poison-Ring Secret Exposed at Last ". This particular story or administering " the white Borgia powder "

The wonderful stuff having disappeared together with its inventors, later historians, to make the accusation plausible, have attempted to bring Zizim's death nearer to the ordinary time of action of the poisons known to science. Thus Pantaleone writes that Zizim died just three days after being surrendered to Charles VIII [53]. Sagredo commits the same mistake and adds another, saying that he died in Terracina [54]. While the contemporary Sanudo speaks of Zizim's ailment only when Charles VIII had arrived at Capua, De Cherrier lately originated one more day's anticipation of his slowly progressing disorder, when he said that the prince complained of an extraordinary sore throat, two days after his departure from Rome ; which would have been itself three days too late.

There was no need, however of any kind of poison on this occasion. Zizim's sickness was not of an uncommon character. It is generally reported to have been a catarrh or a cold, probably an effect of his continual exposure to the winter's and countries' changeable temperatures, always pernicious to the health of a person, like the Turkish prince, used to the Vatican's indoor life. Such is the relation of Sanudo [55], and of the other contemporary historian, Stella, who states that he died soon after from a cold, " rheumatismo, " through the carelessness of Charles VIII [56].

Benedetti, another contemporary, attributes Zizim's death to an inflammation of the throat, brought on by the negligence of the French king [57]. Corio likewise charges the death of the

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is self refuting to any intelligent reader. It is unknown to any of the contemporary enemies of the Borgias, or to any of their revilers of the four last centuries. Modern enemies of the Church should be less silly, when inventing new charges against the Borgia Pope.

53. Johannitarum Rhodiorum de Rebus gestis, Lib. V, p. 143.

54. Memorie Storiche de' Monarchi Ottomani, p. 97.

55. Document 159.

56. Ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 560.

57. Il Fatto d'Arme del Taro, fo 9vo : Zizimo per poca diligentia del Re mori di squillantia.

Sultan's brother to the negligence of Charles VIII [58]. So does Ludovico the Moro attribute his death to the King's carelessness, which he specifies by adding that Charles VIII subjected him to changes of climate, without any regard for his bodily condition [59].

According to De Cherrier [60], Zizim's own physician declared his last sickness to have been a catarrh that had settled on his chest.

Neither does Burchard ascribe his death to any poison, although he differs from the above mentioned authors in giving its cause, when he says : The 25th of the month of February, Gem or Zizim died in the Capua castle of Naples, from food or drink, unusual and not suited to his constitution [61].

That he died a natural death is plainly admitted not only by the late historians de l'Epinois and Pastor [62], but also by ambassador Brognolo, who sent the following news to the marquis of Mantua, on the 3d of March, 1495 : " On the 25th of last month, the brother of the Grand Turk died in Naples, I believe, his death to have been natural, although many say that a potion was give him to drink [63] ".

The same is also attested by the Seigniory of Venice, who wrote, on the 4th of that month, to their ambassador in Constantinople, Andrew Gritti, ordering him to privately inform the Sultan, that the king of France had taken from Rome to Naples with him his brother, Zizim, who for a few days had been suffering with a swollen throat, caused by a catarrh, which had afterwards settled on his chest, in such a manner that, although he had been freely bled, he obtained no cure,

58. Storia di Milano, t. II, p. 579.

59. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 243, n. : Il Re di Franza è stato causa di questa morte in averlo tolto dal Pontefice, e fatolo mudar aere sanz' alcun respeto.

60. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 135.

61. Diar., t. II, p. 242.

62. Respectively, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 412 ; Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 334.

63. Pastor, ubi supra, n. 4.

but died in the morning of the 25th of the past month, in Naples, a natural death,... and that this was most certain [64].

ARTICLE III. — BEHAVIOR OF CHARLES VIII AND OF HIS SOLDIERS IN NAPLES.

De Cherrier assures us [65] that Charles VIII was deeply affected by the death of Zizim ; but he gave no sign of his emotion, nor did he interrupt the indolent and frivolous life, to which he completely abandoned himself, from the first day of his entrance into Naples. All his time was taken up by festive repasts, tournaments and love intrigues [66]. At night, he was present at tragedies and comedies performed by his men, in which were ridiculed and, in French fashion, turned into derision the Pope, the kings of the Romans and of Spain and the doges of Venice [67].

All the care of the self-vaunted Champion of Christianity and of Savonarola's prophesied Reformer of the Church seemed to be how to pass the time in pleasures, Commines says [68]. He relinquished to negligent and greedy ministers all matters of State and all complaints that soon arose on every side ; he did not even trouble himself about the conquest of the few coast cities that held out for the fugitive king Ferdinand. His only care was to give to his favorites titles and offices, lands and provisions found in the surrendered fortresses ; without paying any attention to the nobility of

64. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 243, n. : Gem se ne morite de morte naturale e questo è certissimo.

65. Histoire de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 138.

66. De Commines, Mémoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XIV, p. 63 : Mais tout se mit à faire bonne chere et joustes et festes ; Cantu, Hist. Univers., Liv. XV, Ch. III, p. 116; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 443 ; De Cherrier, ubi supra, p. 157.

67. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 246 ; Godefroy, Hist. de Charles VIII, p. 715 ; ap. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, p. 166, n. 3.

68. Mémoires, Liv. VIII, Ch. I, p. 82.

the country, to the Angevins no more than to the Aragonese. In fact, the Italians were treated as if they had not been human beings [69].

Following the example of their masters in the city of Naples, the French soldiers spread like wild brutes over the provinces that had readily surrendered to their authority. Drunk with the strong wines of the country, the Swiss mercenaries especially, often picked up bloody quarrels with passers-by. They robbed private dwellings and churches of their valuables and of all the money they could find. They even did not spare religious convents, where they shamefully insulted respectable ladies, that had fled from their homes to find safety in them. The insolence of the French, their rapacity and their lust knew no bounds [70].

Sigismondi dei Conti attributes the eventual loss of the achievements of the French to their debauchery and to their avarice [71]. An immediate consequence of their vicious excesses was the origin of the foul disease, of syphilis in Europe, as the same historian relates [72], that while the French were in Naples, there sprang up in Italy a most destructive epidemic, which, from his description could hardly be mistaken. Of their latter depravity Malipiero gives a striking proof, when he reports [73] that Charles VIII while in Pisa on his return to France, shipped on three galleys ten thousand packages of

69. Christophe, ubi supra ; de Commines, ibid., ; Manfredi, Dispatch of May 22d, 1495, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Mem., t. IV, p. 350 ; De Cherrier, ubi supra, p. 155.

70. Boccaccio, Disp. of the 22d of April, 1495, ap. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 344 ; Manfredi, ubi supra ; Benedetti, Fatto d'Arme del Taro, fo 9vo, Corio, Storia di Milano, t. III, p. 579 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 158.

71. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, p. 113.

72. Ibid., p. 271.—According to the latest savants, a few cases of the disorder seem to have been observed two or three years before : Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 335, n. 1.

73. Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 348.

valuable goods, stolen in the kingdom of Naples and in the Pontifical States.

It is no wonder if the inhabitants of the kingdom were soon disappointed in their expectations of relief from the oppression of the Aragonese dynasty. The change of their feelings was so sudden that, as Çurita expresses it, the French were invited to the places which they had not yet taken, and were abhorred wherever they had entered and hated with a terrible hatred [74]. Unable to endure any longer the brutal impudence of the invaders, the Neapolitans set on foot a vast conspiracy, by which it was agreed to kill Charles VIII, on the 25th of March, in the church of the Annunciata, and to assail his local troops in various places of the city ; but the plot was discovered in time, and the King being convinced of the causes of the people's desperation, ordered his men to behave better, and he confiscated the arms of the Neapolitans [75].

The Castrum Novum in the neighborhood of Naples had capitulated on the 10th of March, and the Castello del Ovo had been captured on the 20th [76]. Charles VIII was now in undisputed possession of the whole kingdom. What he had declared to be the secondary object of his Italian invasion was fully attained. And now, or even before this he had had the time and leisure to inaugurate his crusade against the Turks, solemnly announced in France and especially in Florence, as the principal scope of his enterprise. But Sigismondo dei Conti justly states [77] that the King, forgetting his former proclamations, seemed to have cast aside all thought of attacking the Turks, particularly since the death of Zizim.

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74. Hist. del Re don Hernando, Lib. II, Cap. VI, f° 64vo ; Corio, Storia di Milan., t. III, p. 580 ; Cantu, Hist. Univers., Liv. XV, Ch. III, p. 116 ; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 443 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 158.

75. Mazzoni, Memoriale ms, p. 67, ap. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 344.

76. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII. 48, post f^m 24.

77. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 111.

Corio likewise assures us that Charles VIII, to whom the Pope had refused the crown of Naples, never thought of Jerusalem, but rather of the conquest of Italy and of changes in the Pontifical States [78].

Already on the 14th of February, the King wrote from San Germano to the duke of Bourbon : " I am making and shall make in the future all possible haste to arrange my affairs, so that I may see you, with the help of God, sooner than you expect " [79]. Such words, at this time, evidently exclude all intention of protracting his absence to make war on the Infidels. De Cherrier further states that letters from Naples, dated the 28th of February, 1495, to royal officials of Tours, announce that the King shall leave for France, as soon as the Castrum Novum and the one dell'Ovo shall be taken and his affairs put in order [80]. On the 20th of March, the cardinal of St. Malo wrote to the Queen, that it was the King's intention to recross the Alps immediately, without making any more conquests ; and he has charged me, he says, with helping to settle his business, so that he may return as soon as possible. I hope, he continues, that he can leave here about the 8th of April [81].

We also learn from the same French historian [82] that the Seigniory of Venice wrote, on the 4th of March, 1495, to Gritti, their agent in Constantinople, that they had been informed of the intentions of the French king to conclude a treaty of peace with the Sultan, and they directed him to place obstacles in the way.

Whatever may be the truth about this imputation, the fact is that the deceptive announcement of Charles VIII's pretend-

78. Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 580 ; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. G. G.: Concepten etc., f° 53.

79. De Cherrier, ubi supra, p. 123.

80. Ibid., p. 138, Ref. to Bibl. de Nantes, Campagnes et Bulletins, p. 200.

81. Ibid., with reference to the same authority, pp. 200, 218, 220.

82. De Cherrier, ibid., p. 137.

ed crusade resulted in the loss and disadvantage to Christianity. Sultan Bajazet, expecting an attack from the King, aided by Zizim, his rival brother, prepared a hundred and twenty sail to meet him, fortified the Dardanelles and Gallipoli [83], and, although under unfavorable conditions, made peace with the king of Hungary, to whom Charles VIII had not made known his false intentions [84].

The solemn manifesto of Florence, besides private intrigues of the French had provoked in Albania an insurrection of the Christians against their infidel masters. The bishop of Croia had raised the French flag. Quite a number of Mohammedan oppressors had been killed or driven to the neighboring mountains [85]. The bishop urgently requested the promised help, but Charles VIII was decided to return to France and let the Albanians do the best they could. The consequence was that the fierce Turkish troops were soon in the province and massacred from forty to fifty thousand defenseless people. It was a mistake, " une faute ", for the French to incite a small, weak nation to revolt against a powerful empire, if unable —unwilling—to protect them, Daru says [86] ; and, hostile as he generally is against the Pope, he ventures to shift the responsibility for the barbarous revenge from his guilty King upon Alexander VI, whom he accuses of having informed the Sultan of what was taking place in Albania ; as if the Pontiff, who made every effort and every sacrifice for the faithful, subject to Mohammedan tyranny, should have betrayed to the Grand Turk a bishop and his flock. Daru supposes, moreover, the Sultan to be a stranger ignorant of a public revolution in his own State.

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83. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 145.

84. Letter of the Hungarian bishop of Vesprim, ap. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Maximiliana, 1495, Apr. 10.

85. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 20631, f° 3.

86. Hist. de la République de Vénise, t. IV, p. 26, and footn.

Cardinal Pérault, who had accompanied Charles VIII to Naples, full of ardor for war against the Turks, discovered at last that he had been duped, when he saw the King continue his pleasures and amusements, instead of preparing for his pretended expedition to Constantinople or Jerusalem. Loath of staying at his court, he importuned him for leave to absent himself, and was finally allowed to go. On the 8th of April, 1495, Charles VIII handed him a letter of recommendation to the College of cardinals, in which he stated that he would ere long proceed against the Infidels, especially, if he should be joined in the undertaking by the king of the Romans, Maximilian, whom, he added ironically, as it were, the Pope should exhort to assist him [87].

This renewed promise and needless advice to the Pope were tantamount to an admission of his giving up his formerly published designs. All that he wished at the present time was the ratification by the Sovereign Pontiff of his conquest of the Neapolitan kingdom and its crown.

Charles VIII had repeatedly taken steps to obtain the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, by urging his alleged rights and promising a prompt yearly payment of the ancient tribute. During the month of March, he sent an embassy to Rome, requesting the Pope to delegate a cardinal who should perform the ceremonies of his coronation as king of Naples. But pope Alexander VI remained firm by his old decision, that, namely, his rights must first be established before a papal tribunal ; and, when this was done, the investiture and the coronation would not be denied to him. The royal envoys had the opportunity of witnessing the solemn proclamation of the sacred league concluded against their King and, on the

87. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr. Cod. 20631, f° 2.

14th day of the month of April, after many efforts and discussions, they returned to Naples without any success [88].

Summonte [89] and, after him, Gianone [90] assert that the Pontiff granted the investiture, at last ; but Benedetti [91] states that he and the whole Sacred College refused the concession; and so does Corio [92]. Wm. Prescott [93] says that Summonte's statement is contradicted by several and confirmed by none of the authorities which he consulted.

Charles VIII had invaded the kingdom of Naples in spite of its suzerain, the Pope ; in spite of him should he wear its crown. On the 12th of May, he went through a ceremony of coronation at the cathedral, where he filled the office of the refused cardinal legate, crowned himself and assumed all the royal robes. A defamer of pope Alexander VI, Giovanni Pontano, the trusted secretary of the Aragonese kings, disgraced himself [94] by replacing the sacred oration, customary on such occasions, with a sycophant's harangue ; but the Neapolitan people remained gloomy and gave not a sign of approval or joy [95]. To conclude the farce, the King lavishly distributed the territories, dignities and offices of the kingdom between his French followers and the Colonna barons, and solemnly received their oath of fidelity [96].

After this, Charles VIII, his nobles and soldiers, loaded with plunder, tired of their excesses and unwilling to live among the despised inhabitants of Naples, were anxious to see their

88. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 340, Ref. to Boccaccio, Disp. of the 28th of March and of the 14th of April, 1495, to the duke of Ferrara ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 173.

89. Storia di Napoli, Lib. VI, p 517.

90. Hist. di Napoli, Lib. XXIX, Cap. II, p. 389.

91. Fatto d'Arme del Taro, fo 9vo.

92. Storia di Milano, vol III, p. 580.

93. Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, Part. II, Ch. II, p. 298, n. 2.

94. Cfr. Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. II, Cap. III, initio, p. 127.

95. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 346, Ref. to a letter of Jerome Tutavilla of the following day to card. Ascanio Sforza.

96. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VIII, Ch. I, p. 83.

own country again [97]. The return to France had been resolved long ago ; but the news of the conclusion of the Holy League accelerated its preparations. Trusting to have no more difficulty in retaining, than he had met in acquiring his new kingdom, Charles VIII left in it but a few thousand soldiers, under the command of the duke of Montpensier, assisted by the lord d'Aubigny ; and he himself set out on his way to France, by the same route by which he had come, departing from the city of Naples, on the 20th of the month of May, 1495, with the greater part of his army [98] and of his plunder.

ARTICLE IV. — THE HOLY LEAGUE AGAINST THE FRENCH.

While the French king was indulging himself in the city of Naples, a storm was brewing against him in Venice. His ambassador, Philip de Commines, informed him of the danger, but to no effect [99]. In fact, a powerful league was being formed against him by the Pope, the king of Spain, the emperor of Germany, the duke of Milan and the Republic of Venice.

Already before their invasion of Italy, pope Alexander VI had repeatedly requested and required the Christian princes to come to his assistance against the French [100], and was now more anxious than ever to avail himself of their help, after Charles VIII had violated, one after another, several articles of the treaty recently concluded with him. For the King, in spite of his signature and oath, had robbed and murdered also the papal subjects of the Campagna, sacked the towns of the

97. Manfredi, Disp. of the 22d of May, 1495, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 350.

98. Commines, ubi supra ; Auctores passim.

99. Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XV, p. 76 : De tout j'advertis le Roy, et eus maigre response.

100. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 254.

Conti barons and given them, as if he had been their suzerain, to his friends, the Savelli ; he had dragged with him the Turkish prince, Zizim, and taken possession of the city and fortress of Terracina. He had, furthermore, required the oath of allegiance from the people of both Terracina and Civitavecchia, and allowed his men of Ostia to capture two boats loaded with cereals for the famishing city of Rome [101].

At the example of the Pope and in compliance with his request, Ferdinand, the Catholic king of Spain, had also opposed the French expedition from the very time of its preparation, and he had reminded Charles VIII of the Pontiff's right to judicially decide upon his pretentions to the kingdom of Naples. He was, moreover, personnally concerned in the hostile enterprise, fearing, as he did, for the security of his kingdom of Sicily, should the powerful French monarch succeed in displacing his cousin of Naples. When the Spanish king heard of the possession of all the principal cities of Tuscany by the French, he sent his captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, with a large fleet to the Tyrrhenian sea, and his special ambassadors, Lawrence Suarez de Figueroa, to the Seigniory of Venice, and Juan Deça, to the duke of Milan, in order to conclude an alliance with them against the invaders [102]. When, shortly after, Ferdinand learned of the capture of several towns and cities of the Pontifical States, he dispatched two envoys to Charles VIII himself in Velletri, to protest against his proceedings and bluntly to declare war on him.

After Charles VIII had concluded, at Senlis, with emperor-elect Maximilian, his treaty of peace and of mutual defence [103],

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101. Balan, Storia, d'Italia, t. V, p. 343, ref. to Manfredi, Disp. of the 25th of Febr. and of the 11th of March, 1495.

102. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XV, p. 73 ; Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 167 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 36, f° 47 ; Ranke, Geschichten, s. 48.

103. With an exception, however, in favor of the Pope.

he had sent the count of Roussy, to announce his projected conquest of Naples, while protesting his pacific intentions in regard to the Pontifical States and the rights of the emperor in Italy. Maximilian tried to dissuade him from war with a Christian prince, and invited him to a meeting to arrange a common expedition against the Turks ; yet both in vain. He was in Belgium when informed that the French king was already exercising full authority in papal Romagna, had taken possession of the fortresses and cities of the Florentine republic and of Sienna : all places belonging to imperial suzerainty. While there he also received letters from the Pope, who implored his help, denounced the subjugation of the territories of the Church and the robberies and cruelties of the French against the papal subjects and, finally, apprised him of the boast of Charles VIII and of his courtiers, that he would not rest before being the lord of all Italy, the emperor of Rome and the reformer of the Holy See. Similar warnings reached the Emperor from various other trustworthy quarters and greatly disturbed him [104]. The acts of the French king fully justified the fear of the bold threatenings ; for, although he had announced in writing, at different places, that he wanted only to take the kingdom of Naples and after that to assail the Turks, yet he was proving now that he was decided to take all that he could in Italy, and to require nothing from the Infidels [105].

Maximilian, indignant at hearing such reports declared that, as king of the Romans, he was the supreme protector of the Holy Catholic Church, and that he could not tolerate the evils inflicted upon her; that he would cross the Alps at the head of an army, drive the French out of Italy, and secure for himself

104. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. G. G.: Concepta Originalia, Varia, f° 54; ibid., Cod. I, I, f° 76.

105. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XV, p. 76.

the imperial crown from the hands of the Supreme Pontiff [106]. He actually sent to Venice with full powers to act in his name, on the 6th of March, 1495, Udalric of Frundiperg, bishop-elect of Trent, Johan Grendner, J. U. D.; Lenard De Vels and Walter of Stadion; instructing them to approach the Seigniory in their own name and, if they should find them favorably disposed, to present them their letters credential, together with a set of tentative articles for an alliance with the Empire [107].

It did not take long for Ludovico the Moro to regret his calling the French into Italy. While Charles VIII was leading his robber bands through the Milanese territory, his cousin Louis, the duke of Orleans, stopped with his troops in Asti, seeking an occasion to substantiate his newly assumed title of Duke of Milan [108]. Ludovico felt deeply hurt by the King's refusal to deliver to him the Florentine fortresses, surrendered by Piero de' Medici [109]. Shortly after assuming the ducal coronet, he told the Venetian envoy, Torzi Pisani, that he would willingly conclude an alliance with Venice against the French. He spoke on this subject with the special ambassadors of the Republic, Benedetto Trevisan and Sebastian Badoër, and wrote at once to emperor Maximilian [110]. His feelings were further embittered by Charles' neglect of his brother, the cardinal Ascanio Sforza in Rome. He was hardly surprised when the King, after his conquest of Naples, refused to restore to him his duchy of Bari, confiscated by the Neapolitan king, Alfonso II, and to grant him the promised principality of Taranto [111], but he was exasperated when learning

106. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. I. I, Cpta, etc., f° 150.

107. Vienna, ubi supra, Cod. Ostr. 1495, 31 März ; ibid., Cod. I. I, Concepta, Missiven, etc. f° 76; Commines, ubi supra, p. 73.

108. Commines, ibid., p. 76 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 39.

109. De Cherrier, ibid.

110. Malipiero, Annal. Venet., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 336.

111. Balan, Storia, d'Ital., t. V, p. 341, ref. to Trotti, Disp. of the last of Febr. and of the 1st of March, 1495.

that the French king had taken into his pay the Milanese captain Giangiacomo Trivulzio, and that he had admitted to his friendship Ludovico's Genoese rebels Ibletto Fieschi and the cardinal Paul and Baptista Fregoso. He thereupon prevented the equipment of French vessels in the harbor of Genoa [112], and sent, in the beginning of February, his ambassador, Luigi Becchetti, to encourage the Pope towards concluding a league against Charles VIII, and, on the 27th of the same month, dispatched to Venice his plenipotentiaries Anthony de Trivultio, bishop of Como ; Thadeus Vicomercatus and Francis Bernardin Visconti [113]. His animosity, like that of all his associates, was aroused to the extreme by a letter of the 14th of March, written in Naples, by which the count of Caiazzo informed him of the King's intention, to depose, on his return to France, pope Alexander VI and to replace him with a man of his choice, to capture Genoa and make himself the master of all Italy [114].

The Venetians considered at first the French invasion of Italy as an abortive enterprise, and thought even after Charles VIII had crossed the Alps, that his army would not advance very far [115]. They resolved to remain neutral in the threatened war about Naples, although they were offered by both contending kings ample security for the compensation of their services [116]. When, however, the cities of Tuscany, Pisa in particular, had fallen in the power of Charles VIII, they became alarmed, and the French ambassador in Venice, wrote, on the 27th of November, 1494, to the duke of Milan, that they constantly gathered in their council " dei Pregadi ", that it

112. Ranke, Geschichten, s. 48; Balan, ubi supra, p. 341.

113. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XV, p. 73 ; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. Oster. 1495, 31 März; Balan, ubi supra, p. 340.

114. Balan, ibid., p. 342, ref. to Trotti, Disp. of the 24th March to Ercole, duke of Ferrara.

115. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XV, p. 72 : Ils ne croyoient point qu'il allat gueres loin.

116. Id. ibid.

was rumored in Venice that the King had taken all liberty from the Florentines and that his men shamefully maltreated the women at their lodgings. He requested the duke to often admonish the King about the performance of his duties ; because, he significantly added, the dispositions of this city are not understood by him as well as you understand them [117]. The Venetians themselves ventured to give the invader the advice of restoring to the Florentine republic the cities taken from it [118], and were already then preparing for an agreement with the duke of Milan against Charles VIII [119]. Their anxiety and indignation increased as the King continued his victorious march ; and, when he virtually took possession of the Pontifical States, they were actively negotiating with his other enemies to bring about the famous league, destined to deprive him of his easy conquests and to humble his ambition.

To the plenipotentiaries of the other allies the Pontiff added Pedro de Aranda, bishop of Calahorra and papal legate in all the Venetian territories, and Lewis Becchetti, former envoy to Rome of the duke of Milan ; and Venice completed, on the 16th, the commission to draft the new confederacy, by appointing Augustin Barbadico, Mark Bollanus and Leonard Lauredano [120].

Since the beginning of December, 1494, the five allied Powers were fully decided to oppose king Charles VIII in his disturbance and subjugation of Italy; and their mutual envoys, especially in Venice, were eagerly conferring on the means of restraining him. But it took time to establish the articles of a definite and formal league, binding each one of them to gather soldiers and to submit to heavy expenses for the protec-

117. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, pp. 148, 149.

118. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. I. Cap. 36, f° 47; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 60.

119. Buser, Beziehungen der Mediceer, s. 340.

120. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. Ostr. 1495, 31 März.

tion of one another ; because so many different interests were to be conciliated, and the Italian adherents to the French had to be won over, or to be made innocuous [121]. The diffidence of Ludovico the Moro's reliability was, moreover, a great obstacle to the progress of the negotiations.

The alliance was finally concluded and signed by all the representatives of the contracting Powers, on the last day of March, 1495. It was called the Holy League, because it was undertaken principally for the defence of the papacy [122], and was headed by His Holiness, pope Alexander VI.

Its official text announces its object to be " the peace and repose of Italy, the welfare of all Christendom, the preservation of the dignity and authority of the Apostolic See, the maintenance of the rights of the Holy Roman empire and the defence of the integrity of the States of the contracting parties [123].

Gregorovius makes almost as many mistakes as he uses words to assert that war on the Turks was a pretense to cover the aim of fighting the French conqueror, expressed in secret articles [124]. Neither Gregorovius nor any other historian has ever discovered any secret articles of the Holy League. War against the Turks is not mentioned in the whole document, although pope Alexander VI, in conferring full powers upon his representatives had spoken of the necessity of a general

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121. To the French party decidedly belonged the Orsini, the Colonna and the Savelli barons, the cardinal Giuliano and Giovanni della Rovere, Savoy and Montferrat, the Florentine who feared Ludovico the Moro, and, led by Savonarola, still put their hopes in Charles VIII for the recuperation of Pisa ; while Bologna and Ferrara were inclined to him and resolved to place themselves on the most promising side. Cfr. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 389 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 165.

122. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. I, I : Concepta, Missiven etc., id genus, f° 150.

123. See Document 160. Cfr. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch., Cod. K. K. XVI Aprilis 1495 ; Venedig 1 April 1495 ; Ibid., Cod. G. G., f° 54.

124. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 380.

expedition against the Infidels, after peace should have been restored among the Christian princes [125]. Neither was it the absolute purpose of the confederacy to assail the French king, but only in so far as he would continue to infringe on the rights of the allied Powers. Nearly all contemporary authors testify to its peaceful object. Among these are Manfredi [126], Chieregati, in his sermon before the Pope at the publication of the Holy League in Rome [127], Burchard [128], and Corio [129].

Following were the eight primary articles of the Holy League :

The confederation is to last twenty-five years or longer, at the pleasure of the contracting parties, for the conservation of the States of the same parties, and against all who at the present time are in possession of any State in Italy, and would attack another without provocation.

The Holy Father shall, as long as this league lasts, keep four thousand horse and two thousand foot, and each of the other allies, eight thousand horse and four thousand foot, to assist one another ; so that if one of the parties should be attacked, all the others shall help him with the said troops, or part of them, according to circumstances of time and place; or pay every year, from time to time, certain moneys to the offended colleague, namely, the Holy Father thirty thousand ducats, and each of the others, sixty thousand. The expense of maritime aid, if any, shall be deducted from the number of soldiers or from the money to be contributed.

If two of the allies should be assailed, the others must send one half of their help to each of them ; if three, to each one

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125. Vienna, ubi supra, Cod. K. K. : adjunct to 1495, 31 März, Oster.

126. Ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 348.

127. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Emmanuele, Mss. Sessoriani, Cod. 413, f° 448.

128. Diar., t. II, p. 250.

129. Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 582.

third ; if four, one fourth ; and each one shall pay his troops and their provisions.

Because of the proximity of their territories, the Holy Father and the dukes of Venice and of Milan, if one of them should be assailed, the two others shall assist him and each other, with all the troops that they are obliged by this league to maintain.

The Pope shall also assist his confederates with the weapons of his spiritual power, as far as he shall be allowed by justice and canon law.

Should any war take place, no one shall be allowed to make peace without the consent of all his colleagues.

Should an assailant ask peace and offer reparation, the one who was aggressed must accept ; or else his colleagues are freed from the duty of further assisting him.

No one will be allowed to enter into a union or treaty with any other Italian power, without the consent of all other confederates, and safe always the articles of this league.

According to a secundary article, the league was to be published in Rome, Venice and Milan, on Palm Sunday, the 12th of April ; on the same day, if possible, in Germany, or on one of the following paschal feasts ; as also in Spain, after notice of its conclusion have been received. Its solemn proclamation took place in Rome, at St. Peter's basilica, in the presence of the Pontiff, and was celebrated with public rejoicings and numerous torchlights and bonfires [130].

On the 1st of April, Augustin Barbadico, the doge of Venice called the resident French ambassador and told him of the league's conclusion and of its ends. Commines, who was aware of the intentions of his master and of their consequences, was downhearted, he says [131], and wrote the same day, a long letter to Charles VIII, wherein he states : " When I

130. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 252 and n.

131. Memoires, Liv. VII, Ch. XV, p. 78.

told them, Sire, that you were willing to restore, before your departure, to the Pope and to Florence all that you had promised to return to them, the doge answered, that by so doing you would have peace in Italy and could feel assured that they would not trouble you in the least, as they are not obliged to do by virtue of their league. " Two days later, he completed his dispatch and said : " I have spoken to them of your return, and they have held a consultation about it with all the ambassadors of the league ; and these are all of the opinion, that you are unwilling to make any restitution, for they have lately received letters from Rome and elsewhere, saying that you have threatened the Pope with entering Rome again; and this obliges them to do all they can, not to attack, but to defend themselves [132]. "

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132. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, pp. 195, 197.

CHAPTER VII.

Return of Charles VIII to France.

ARTICLE I. — ALEXANDER VI REFUSES TO MEET CHARLES VIII.

Pope Alexander VI had been informed by André d'Epinay, Cardinal archbishop of Lyon, sent to him from Naples [1], of the intention of Charles VIII to pass through Rome, on his return to France ; but, relying on an early and powerful support from his confederates, the Pope had strongly objected to the execution of his design. He afterwards wrote to emperor Maximilian, that he had not been willing under any conditions to leave Rome and its holy relics, the See of Peter and his faithful Roman people ; but had resolved to courageously oppose the French king, in case that he would try to enter the City in spite of him [2].

On Sunday, the 3d of May, 1495, he called an extraordinary consistory, where the question of leaving Rome or of resisting with all force was proposed, and the cardinals came to the resolution that, if any one should ever again speak of abandoning the City, he must be held as a heathen and a publican [3]. The people of Rome, at a public meeting, encouraged the Pontiff to strongly withstand the French robbers and murderers, offered to sacrifice themselves, their wives and children and their all to help him ; they even brought to him the roll of all their men able to bear arms [4].

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1. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 179, Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 447, ref. to Paul Jove, Hist. Lib. II.

2. Munich, K. Staatsbibl., Cod. Lat. 428, f° 219 ; Nardi, Ist. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 74.

3. Card. Cæsarini, who was present, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII,48, f° 31.

4. Id. ibid. ; Malipieri, Annal. Venet. ap. Storico Ital. Ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 340.

The Pope was not slow to prepare for the coming contest. He provided again with provisions the castle of Sant' Angelo and, in a few days, gathered, in and about Rome, no less than three hundred and fifty men-at-arms and three thousand soldiers on foot, almost the full contingent required from him by the terms of the Holy League [5]. He also wrote many pressing letters to his colleagues ; but Ludovico the Moro had many of his troops engaged against the duke of Orleans in Piedmont [6] ; and he, together with the doge of Venice, could not afford to send to the Pope's assistance more than a thousand light cavalry and two thousand foot. As a compensation for the large deficiency, he forwarded to Rome the meagre sum of ten thousand ducats [7]. Owing to the scarcity of food in Rome, the Pope had, on the 22d of April, quartered in the city of Tuscanella and in the territory of Vetralta, five hundred light horse sent to him by the Venetians [8]. From Maximilian the Pontiff received the promise that, in the near future, he would come to Italy with a powerful army, and, for the present, he advised him to leave Rome and to retire to Ancone or Bologna [9].

Such was all the assistance which pope Alexander VI actually received from his associates of the Holy League. We can easily imagine his bitter disappointment, when he saw the utter futility of his intended opposition to the French king, who was coming with a solid army of twenty thousand chosen military men.

Malipiero relates [10] that the Venetian Seigniory, following

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5. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Maximiliana, 1495, Juni 1.

6. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 74.

7. Vienna, Filiale, ubi supra ; Malipiero, ubi supra, p. 336.

8. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XL, 18, f° 64.

9. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat., 428, f° 219 ; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch. Cod. I, I, Concepta, Missiven etc., fiis 119, 120 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 380.

10. Ap. Archiv. Stor. Italiano, ser. I, t. VII, P. I, pp. 383, 542.

the example of the Emperor [11], counselled the Pope to withdraw to Viterbo, at the approach of Charles VIII and, should the King follow him, to flee farther on to Ancona or to Venice itself. It was through their ambassador, Jerome Torzi, he says, that the Pontiff was induced to leave the City. But, in fact, there was no need of any such advice. As soon as pope Alexander VI understood the impossibility of keeping the monarch out of Rome by force, he was determined, after his sad experience of a few months past, not to receive him personally at the Vatican again. He justly feared to be compelled to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples or to be deprived of his liberty and be taken a captive to France—as it was king Charles' intention that he should be [12].

Having learned from his ambassadors, cardinal d'Epinay and the count of St. Pol, brother of the cardinal of Luxembourg, that the Pope refused to grant him free passage through Rome [13], Charles VIII wrote, on the 6th of May, 1495, a letter to complain of the accusations brought against him, and denying all intention of usurping any Italian State [14]. Such a denial, in spite of his actions, could not but increase the Pontiff's suspicion of deceit. The King also sent the cardinal of St. Denis, de la Grolaye, with the lord de Bresse, to promise, upon his royal honor and as a Most Christian king, full security to the Pope and to the people of Rome, offering to give him, as warrants for his word, his ambassadors themselves. He would enter Rome with but a few soldiers and stay but a short time ; but he wanted to have an interview with the

11. Vienna, K. u. K. Archiv. Cod. I, I, fiis 119, 120, where the good natured but impotent Maximilian also promises speedy assistance.

12. Malipiero, ibid., p. 542 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. II, Cap. 6, f° 65.

13. Rome, Bibl. Corsini, Cod. 1323 or 33, A. 2, f° 34vo.

14. Modena, Archiv. di Stato Ducale, Carteggio estero, 1495, ap. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 345.

Pontiff, concerning his intended expedition against the Turks, and arrange with him certain matters of importance [15].

Pope Alexander VI answered, on the 11th of May, to the French envoys that neither he nor the Sacred College could approve their King's design of entering Rome, because of the disturbances that were likely to follow; but he would readily grant him free passage through his territories, and would name two cardinals to provide his army with all needed provisions [16]. If he had any arrangements to make relating to the Turks, the Pope was willing to confer with him in any other place, upon which they would agree, such as Rocca Suriana, Orvieto, Orte or Spoleto, where they would meet with an equal number of armed men [17].

With this answer of the Pontiff and of the Sacred College, the ambassadors left the City to report to the King. Their negotiations were found unsatisfactory, and they were remanded to Rome, to conduct them to a more favorable issue [18]. Cardinal Cæsarini relates that, on the 19th of May, the cardinal of St. Denis and the lord de Bresse entered Rome again as envoys of Charles VIII [19]. On the 24th, while at dinner in the house of Cardinal Dominic della Rovere, they received letters from the King, not only very polite but replete with words more than filial towards His Holiness, ordering the ambassadors to remain as hostages wherever the Pontiff might wish them to stay.

But the Pope was not to be beguiled. On the 25th, the

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15. Manfredi, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 346 ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 347.

16. In fact the cardinals Morton and Carvajal were deputed to this office : Consistorialarch. ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 377, 338 and n. 2.

17. Boccaccio, Disp. from Rome, of the 9th and 11th of May, 1495, and Manfredi, from Florence, of 14th and 16th, ap. Capelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 345, and Balan, ubi supra, p. 347 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 6, f° 65.

18. Rome Bibl. Corsini, Cod. 1323 or 33. A. 2. f° 37vo.

19. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48 ; Cfr. Manfredi, ap. Cappelli, ubi supra, p. 351.

ambassadors were introduced before the Consistory, and there an agreement was made with them on the following terms : Before Charles VIII should set foot on papal soil, he should issue letters of safety for the Sovereign Pontiff, the Sacred College and the people of Rome, and secure the possessions of all subjects of the Apostolic See. The King should be received by cardinals and honorably introduced into the City. Quarters should be prepared for him at the Vatican palace. To prevent a clash between hostile armies, the Pope should retire with the cardinals and his troops to Orvieto, from where he would go and have a conference with the Most Christian King, at some place agreed upon [20]. Manfredi [21] reports still another provision, namely : The King should enter Rome with his guard only ; not the City proper, but only the Borgo and the Apostolic palace.

Those testimonies sufficiently disprove a gratuitous untruth of Guicciardini who pretends [22] that the Pontiff had given hopes to the French king that he would wait for him in Rome.

As soon as the agreement with the envoys of Charles VIII was concluded, the Pope commenced to prepare for his departure from Rome. On that same 25th of May, he named the cardinal of St. Praxedes, Antoniotto Pallavicini, as apostolic legate " de latere " of Rome and of its territory, for the time of his absence. This cardinal was to remain in the City and receive the French king [23]. That same day, he wrote to

20. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra; Boccaccio, Disp. of the 25th of May, 1495, ap. Balan, ubi supra, p. 347.

21. Ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 351.

22. Storia d'Italia, Lib. II, Cap. III, p. 128.

23. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 339, n. 1, corrects the date of the appointment, given by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1495, no. XXI, as VIII Kal. januarii, instead of junii ; but he fails to notice Raynaldi's misleading insertion of " S. Anastasiæ nuncupato, " called the cardinal of St. Anastasia, into his headline to the document. Pallavicini, now promoted to the title church of St. Praxedes, had, indeed, formerly been cardinal of St. Anastasia. Since John Morton was by this time cardinal of

Perugia, ordering the people to forward to Orvieto all the provisions they could gather [24]. Two days later, on the 27th of May, 1495, about ten o'clock before noon, he departed from Rome, accompanied by twenty cardinals and many other prelates, by the ambassadors of several courts and his army of about seven thousand men, leaving the cardinal Pallavicini with a strong garrison in the castle of Sant' Angelo [25]. He arrived, that night, in Cività Castellana and, avoiding the territories of the Savelli and of the Vitelli, went on through Orte and reached Orvieto, on the 30th at eight o'clock in the evening [26]. Fumi [27] mistakes both the dates of the departure from Rome and of the arrival in Orvieto, to which he assigns respectively the 26th and the 28th of May. From this city he wrote to Maximilian the following day [28] : " He had left Rome ", he said, " in the deepest sadness. His Majesty could apprehend how hard and bitter it had been to the Roman people to see him go on the eve of the Ascension of Our Lord, on the very day that they used to come and receive his solemn blessing. He, the pastor, he left his see and those people, who were his most beloved fold, to travel narrow and difficult roads, now that he was growing old ; and with cardinals, many of whom were broken down by age and sickness. "

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the title of St. Anastasia, Dr. von Pastor illogically concludes that the cardinal, named apostolic legate of Rome on this occasion, was John Morton. But the brief of appointment, found in Archiv. Secreto Vatic. on f° 269 of Alex. VI. Secretaria. An. I, II, III, Lib. III, Regest, 869, does not say : " Johanni card. S. Anastasiæ ", or John Morton, but plainly and simply : " Antoniotto tti. S. Praxedis, " that is, cardinal Pallavicini, the only cardinal, moreover, that had the baptismal name of Antoniotto. This remark may also serve to correct Malipiero, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 345; Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 365 ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, 2e Abt. s. 220, and Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 348.

24. Fumi, Alessandro VI in Orvieto, p. 27.

25. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48.

26. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra ; Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, fo 7vo.

27. Aless. VI in Orvieto, pp. 27, 28.

28. Munich, K. Staatsbibl., Cod. Latin., 428, f° 219.

In the meantime, king Charles VIII, who had left Naples on the 20th of May, to return to France, went by Aversa and Capua to Gaeta, where he stopped a few days and sent some troops ahead of him [29]. On the 26th, he entered the Pontifical States again at Pontecorvo and Ceprano [30] and proceeded by Ferentino, from where it was reported to the Pontiff that, although its people, obeying papal orders, were ready to deliver provisions to his army, the town had been cruelly pillaged and a great number of its inhabitants put to death, as if they had acted like declared enemies of the French [31]. The King continued his march through Valmontone. Here he was met by a deputation of the Roman people, who were fearing for their goods and their lives. He entered Rome, about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of the month of June, by the Sistine bridge and the Transtevere. Cardinal Pallavicini went to receive him and offered him quarters in the Vatican palace ; but he declined the proffer, and took lodgings at the house of cardinal Dominic della Rovere, in the Borgo [32].

Lest he should forfeit his interview with pope Alexander VI or be frustrated in his design of taking him a prisoner, the French king kept his followers in stricter bonds than at his former visit of Rome. Some Swiss of his vanguard had penetrated the City before him and had again commenced their robberies and brutalities on the few Spaniards who had re-

29. Manfredi, Disp. of the 25th of May, 1495, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 345 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 9.

30. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 348 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 380.

31. Extract from a letter of the Pope to emperor Maximilian, dated the 23d of June, 1495, ap. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. K. K. f° 65 of one of its foliations.

32. Card. Cæsarini ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48; Ibid., Cod. LV, 27, f° 9 or seq.; Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 8 ; Malipiero, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 353 ; Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 114 ; Balan, ubi supra ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 339.

mained in Rome ; but they were expelled at the arrival of Charles VIII, who ordered a few of them to expiate their crimes on the gibbet [33], although he himself allowed the massacre of some more Spaniards and the plunder of the palace of the Spanish cardinal, Giovanni de Borgia, if we can believe Domenico Malipiero [34]. He even recalled his garrisons from Civitavecchia and Terracina and restored those fortresses to the papal authority [35].

Important letters received from Milan hastened the departure of the French king for Rome. He left early on the 3d of June, and went through Isola Farnese, Campagnano, Sutri and Ronciglione to his fortress of Viterbo, where he arrived, at the head of his army, on the 5th of June [36]. From Ronciglione he dispatched an envoy, who reached Orvieto on the 4th, to request the promised interview with the Pontiff.

Pope Alexander VI well understood that to admit the King in Orvieto, where he could oppose but a relatively small guard to forces amounting to from twenty to thirty thousand men, was virtually to surrender his mental, if not his bodily, liberty. He proposed, therefore, as a meeting place, either Spoleto or some other remote locality, where he might gratify the King's wish and hear him, under more equitable conditions. The envoy objected, however, to the Pontiff's proposal, saying that his master could not leave the route laid out for his army [37].

The Pope, thus made aware of the proximity of the French, resolved at once to continue his flight ; and, as soon as the

33. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 189.

34. Ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 342.

35. De Cherrier, ubi supra ; Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 348, ref. to Archiv. di Stato Moden., Cancel. ducale, Avvisi, 13 Giugno, 1495.

36. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra; Manfredi, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 353 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 9 or seq. ; Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 8 ; Balan, ubi supra.

37. Fumi, Alessandro VI e il Valentino in Orvieto, p. 28.

King's ambassador had left him, he dispatched, that same evening, to Perugia the bishop of that city, his datary Juan Lopez, to prepare lodgings for him and his numerous suite. Early the next morning, he escaped from Orvieto, without the knowledge of Charles VIII, who sent another ambassador to that place, the following day; to learn, however, to his deepest chagrin that the Pontiff was gone [38].

The fugitives went swiftly on their way. At night they arrived at Castello della Pieve, where the Pope and his court passed over night, while the soldiers bivouacked about the adjoining town of Monteleone. The next morning, they all speeded on again, and in the evening of the 6th of June, 1495, they entered the fortified city of Perugia, forming a long, solemn procession. The march was opened by the infantry, then came the men on horseback, three hundred of them brilliantly equipped men-at-arms, and the papal guard. These were followed by the twenty cardinals riding their horses or mules, and by the Pontiff, carried in a sedan under a canopy, with the Blessed Sacrament carried immediately in front of him, and surrounded by the ambassadors of the allied courts and the Perugian nobility [39].

Here the Pontiff stopped his flight, yet intending to seek safety further in Ancona or Venice, should the French king attempt to follow him with his army.

In the midst of his anxiety and fatigue, pope Alexander VI was greatly comforted by a letter, which he received from his beloved people of Rome. The highest Roman magistrates had, indeed, sent to him, through a special messenger, the following testimonial of their loyalty, respect and devotedness :

" Most Holy Father and Most Gentle Lord. After kissing

38. Fumi, ibid., p. 29.
39. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 9 ; Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 8.

your blessed feet and recommending ourselves to you. Let not Your Holiness wonder, if we did not write before this time, for we have been constantly engaged in attending to business, both before and after the arrival of the king of France. We have performed with the uttermost care, in conjunction with the Most Reverend Lord, your Legate, and your most worthy Governor of the City, all that Your Holiness has ordered us to do. We have dispatched to the King some citizens, to declare to His Majesty how Your Holiness has, at your departure, expressly commanded us to receive His Majesty with marks of pleasure and the greatest honors ; and, after that, the day before yesterday, we have paid him a visit at his residence. But now that he has left the City, this morning about three o'clock of the day, with all his retinue, all are longing with the greatest eagerness and looking for the happy return of their best Lord and Father. We, therefore, in the name of all your devoted and privileged Roman people, we humbly and affectionately, and with all our heart, beg Your Beatitude to graciously return to your holy City, as soon as you can conveniently do so ; for this will be most agreeable and joyful to us, to all your said people of Rome and to all the members of your court ; and it will be considered as a cause of great honor and of the everlasting glory of Your Holiness. Come and deign to tell us what we must do in the future, for we shall forever, as true servants and most obedient sons, obey You, as it is our duty, and we shall spare neither labor nor fatigue, as we have done till this day, to promote the interests of Your Holiness ; And may you fare well. We, as ever, recommend to Your Holiness ourselves and this your faithful people of Rome. From your holy City, the third day of June, 1495.

We, of Your Beatitude the most faithful servants, the " Conservatores " of the Treasury of your holy City[40]. "

40. See Document 161.

Does not this one letter sweep aside a number of accusations afterwards made against pope Alexander VI ?

Charles VIII was sorely vexed, when, on the 7th of June, he learned that the Pope, his coveted prey, had escaped. He could not divide his army to pursue him nor abandon the plan of his return to France. He, therefore, relinquished his design of seeing the Pontiff, but resolved to wreak vengeance upon his defenseless subjects.

He resumed his homeward journey on the 9th of June, taking along with him the French garrison of Viterbo. Although Toscanella was situated at quite a distance from the main road, he ordered his vanguard to that city. Its inhabitants waited at the gates of the place with ample provisions for the troops, but showed themselves disinclined to open their homes to the robber bands; and this was considered as a sufficient provocation to take the city by force, to sack it and to massacre more than a thousand of its people [41]. Pope Alexander VI wrote from Viterbo, on the 24th of June, 1495, to emperor Maximilian that, although the people of Toscanella were willing to supply the French soldiers with provisions [42], yet they broke into, and devastated, the city, and slew all they met, to the number of eight hundred, sparing neither age nor sex, not even the sanctuaries [43]. The imperial ambassadors had written, two days before, that the French had captured the peaceable city and ravaged it with utmost ferocity [44].

Charles VIII himself followed the direct highway by Montefiascone, which was plundered and devastated before he left it. Bolsena and Aquapendenta escaped destruction by humble

41. Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 8 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 10 ; Manfredi, Disp. of the 12th of June, 1495, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 355 ; Gilles, Croniques de France, t. II, f° 116vo ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 382.

42. Thus correcting De Cherrier, Histoire de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 191.

43. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. K. K. f° 65.

44. Ibid., f° 65vo.

submission and honors showered upon him, but the intermediate castle of Santa Fiora and the towns of Lorenzo alle Grotte and of San Lorenzo di Val del Lago were robbed and ruined [45]. Thus did he leave a trail of desolation and death behind him, all the way between Viterbo and the frontier of the Pontifical States [46]. He entered the territory of Siena on the 13th, and, on the 15th of June, the city itself [47]. Satiated with the treasure and blood of so many innocent victims, the King seems to have now moderated his brutal wrath ; but several of his acts, while he was here and passed through Tuscany, betray his wild ambition. After taking possession of Siena, he went, on the 18th of the month, to Poggibonsi, and the following day, Jerome Savonarola was horrified at what he heard and saw at the camp of his Reformer of the Church. Charles VIII did not venture to pass again through the city of Florence, which had prepared for resistance by prayer and works of penance and by filling every house and square with its own and foreign soldiery [48]. On the 22d, Charles VIII entered Pisa, where he amused himself, and left some of his troops to defend that place against his deluded allies of Florence. Having refused the promised restitution of the Tuscan fortresses, and failed to obtain possession of the city and port of Genoa, he continued his homeward march along the road by which he had come, and arrived at Pontremoli again. Here he allowed his Swiss mercenaries to take a terrible revenge of a pretended affront offered them on their previous journey, by ferociously massacring the inhabitants and burning down their city [49].

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45. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 10 ; Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 1225, f° 8 ; Fumi, Alessandro VI in Orvieto, p. 29.

46. Confer Document 162.

47. Bibl. Barberin., and Vatic. Ottobon., ubi supra ; Pietro Delphini, Epistol. Lib. IV. Epist. XXXIII, Augustino Barbadico.

48. Pietro Delphini, ibid., Ep. XXXVI.

49. Respectively, P. Delphini, ubi supra ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, pp. 79, 80 ; Delphini, ibid. Epist. XXXVI ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 349.

As soon as Charles VIII had entered Siena, the Venetians wrote to pope Alexander VI, requesting him to move from Perugia to Ancona for greater security, and to release the troops sent to him by the allies, so that these might be added to the army which they were gathering near Parma [50]. But the Pontiff had been informed that the inveterate antagonists, the Orsini and the Colonna with the Savelli, whom the French king left in Rome, were again raising disturbances in the neighborhood of the City. In fact, Antonio Savelli had recently entered by force into Tivoli and the Colonna had been repulsed from a castle of Virginio Orsini between Tivoli and Vicovaro [51]. He decided, therefore, rather to go and work at the pacification of his States than to seek further personal safety. He let go his Milanese and Venetian troops with some of his own, and, on the 19th of June, he departed from Perugia for Orvieto, where he arrived in the evening of the 20th, and left in the morning of the 22d [52]. He was in Viterbo on the 24th and returned to Rome on the 27th, after an absence of just one month. He was received by the Roman people with great joy and acclamations, and his march to the Vatican palace was a pompous, triumphal procession [53].

ARTICLE II. — CHARLES VIII REACHES FRANCE, WHERE HE REMAINS.

On the very day of the Pontiff's magnificent entry into Rome, the Milanese troops, under the command of the count of Cajazzo, made their junction with those of Venice, led by

50. Dom. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t VII, P. I, 348.

51. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p 348.

52. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 11 ; Fumi, Alessandro VI in Orvieto, p. 30.

53. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48, f° 32 ; Acta Consistor. ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 341, and n. 4.

the marquis of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga, with whom also were the papal auxiliaries and, notably, Jofre de Borgia, at the head of seven hundred and forty horse [54]. The army of the allies amounted to about thirty thousand men, raw soldiers [55], to oppose the twenty thousand veterans of Charles VIII.

Near the town of Fornovo, situated four miles to the Southeast of Parma, on the Eastern bank of the mountain stream, the Taro, the combined armies waited until Sunday, the 5th of July, when the French appeared and demanded free passage. A skirmish took place that night and a fierce battle lasted the whole of the following day [56]. Three thousand men were slain and many thousands wounded. The victory of the allies would have been more brilliant, if the principal object of the Venetian stradiots and of some other soldiers had not been the robbery of the French carriages that followed in the rear of the army, laden with ten thousand boxes of spoils from all over Italy and valued at more than an hundred thousand ducats. Charles VIII fled with his troops from the battlefield at dusk, but succeeding in his plans, made his way through the duchy of Milan and entered Asti on the 13th of July, 1495, swearing to go soon through Italy again [57].

After the battle of Fornovo and several attacks made on his rearguard, the French king was unable to make any more conquests. At the end of the month of July, he left Asti, on his way to France, and retired to Turin, where he was on the 3d of August, endeavoring to gather more troops for the liberation of Louis, duke of Orleans, surrounded in Novarra

54. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 352 ; Malipiero, Annal. Venet., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 349.

55. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1495, Juni 1 ; Commines, Memoires, Liv. VIII, Ch. II, p. 86 and Gozzadini, Giov. II, Bentivoglio, p. 109, say, forty thousand.

56. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48; Ammirato, Istorie Fiorent, t. V, p. 374 ; Balan, ubi supra.

57. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 354.

by the Milanese and the Venetian troops, assisted, with Maximilians's consent, by ten thousand German mercenaries [58].

The progress of the siege of Novarra was slow, and the harmony between the troops of Venice and those of Milan far from complete [59]. Under these circumstances, Ludovico the Moro, anxious only about his personal interests, readily made, in spite of the terms of the Holy League, a private treaty of peace with Charles VIII. The French king restored Novarra and the Duke promised him the free use of the port of Genoa, giving, as security, its fortress into the hands of the duke of Ferrara. He also promised to accompany him in his next expedition against Naples, and to obtain from the Pope the revocation of a threatening bull against him. Yet, not to preclude all help in future need, easily foreseen and expected, he stipulated the continuance of the Holy League [60]. Ludovico was bitterly accused of treachery by his allies [61] ; but, in spite of them all, he and the French king signed the treaty at Vercelli, on the 9th of October [62].

Shortly after, Charles VIII and his army recrossed the Alps and went to Lyons [63].

Already on the 22d of June, 1495, the representatives of the Emperor with the Pope, had written to him from Orvieto, that, at the request of the allies' ambassadors, the Pontiff, con-

58. Malipiero, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, vol. VII, P. I, p. 378 ; Ranke, Geschichten, p. 60.

59. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 359.

60. Lünig, Codex Italiae Diplomaticus, t. II, col. 1303 ; Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48, post fm 31; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. II, Cap. 22 f° 88 ; Balan, ubi supra ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s 384.

61. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VIII, P. I, p. 395 ; Balan, ubi supra, pp. 357, 359.

62. Or on the 10th, according to Lünig, ubi supra, and Coriq, Hist. di Milano, vol. III, p. 614.

63. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 84 ; Pastor. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 342.

sidering the crimes committed by the French king, had consented to make use not only of his temporal, but also of his spiritual, powers against Charles VIII, on the condition that Maximilian and the king of Spain should also immediately assail him. As, however, the Emperor's envoys had no authority to make such a promise, pope Alexander VI, not to draw the vengeance of king Charles upon himself and Italy alone, postponed, for the time, inflicting or threatening any spiritual censures. Thereupon, the Emperor's representatives urged their master to follow the example of his colleagues and to attack the French at once, who had, they told him, also usurped all imperial rights in the city of Siena. The Pope himself, two days after, wrote to him for the same purpose [64].

On the 21st of August, 1495, the Pontiff sent a brief to the doge of Venice, to thank him for the expulsion of the invader from Italy, and requested him to courageously continue his glorious work for the confirmation of the liberty and peace of the Holy Roman Church and of all Italy [65]. On his part, the doge, as also the duke of Milan, insisted that His Holiness should exert his spiritual power, as he had, by the terms of the recent league, agreed to do.

On the 3d of August, therefore, pope Alexander VI called together all the ambassadors of the allies, in the presence of cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and required them to solemnly swear, in the name of their respective princes, that, should king Charles try to injure him in his temporal or spiritual authority, they all should promise, under pain of perjury, to defend him, both in his quality of a Pope and of a temporal Sovereign. The envoys held a conference among themselves, and concluded that they were entitled to take the oath, virtually taken

64. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. K. K. Varia, fiis 65vo and 65, of one foliation.

65. Malipiero, ubi supra, p. 391: " Licet Omnipotens Dominus multorum... "

already by their masters in signing the Holy League. A notarial act was then drawn up to that effect and sworn to by the representatives of Maximilian, of the kings of Spain and of the dukes of Milan and of Venice, in the presence of a notary public and of the papal secretary, B. Floridus, on the 4th of August, 1495 [66].

On the next day was issued the remarkable bull of pope Alexander VI, of which but a mere mention is made, or an incorrect summary is given by Manfredi [67], Malipiero [68], Guicciardini [69], Corio [70], De Cherrier [71], Gregorovius [72] and Pastor [73]. It is, however, a most important historical document, because it not only reports the papal threat of censures against the king of France, but also gives an authentic compendium of all the principal details of Charles VIII's invasion of Italy, of his maltreatment of the Sovereign Pontiff, of his other injustices and of the cruelties perpetrated by him and his soldiers. It recites his numerous violations of the treaty which he had extorted from the Pontiff and brands the unspeakable barbarities committed by his soldiers on the innocent people of Toscanella. The Pope, it is stated therein, would have been justified in applying to Charles VIII and to his captains and soldiers the censures threatened by the Bull in Cæna Domini, but he had forborne in the hope that Italy would be pacified soon again after the King's return to France.

But, when pope Alexander VI had learned that Charles' design was to return with an army greater than before and, consequently, to leave Italy an easy prey for the bloodthirsty

66. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch., Maximiliana, 1497 (sic) Aug. 10 and following document.

67. Disp. ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 405.

68. Ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, pp. 380, 383, 409.

69. Storia d'Italia, Lib. II, Cap. V, p. 158.

70. Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 612 .

71. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 291.

72. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 384.

73. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s 342.

Turks, he, with the approval of the cardinals, commanded the French king and all his nobility engaged in warfare under his orders in Italy, and all his confederates and supporters, to desist at once from all attack and invasion, renewal or continuation of war, and from all hostile undertakings against the potentates of Italy, and to withdraw his troops and those of his condottieri. He gave them nine days' time before incurring the punishment of disobedience. His commands were, indeed, binding under the penalty of excommunication " ipso facto, " reserved for its absolution to the Pope himself ; of the loss of all offices, benefices and possessions held from the holy Roman or other churches and of the privation of all titles received. His aides, soldiers and all who in any wise were giving him help or advice, were ordered to cease immediately rendering him any further service. Should the King or any of his accomplices neglect to obey, they were within twenty more days to appear before the papal court, to hear their final condemnation read to them.

In concluding his bull, the Pontiff conjured Charles VIII again, by all that is holy, to turn his forces against the inhuman enemies of all Christians [74].

Guicciardini remarks [75] that such a measure may have succeeded at a time that the Roman Pontiffs commanded respect by the holiness of their lives, but was ridiculous in the case of Alexander VI; and he places on the lips of Charles VIII a scornful reply to the threats of the Pope. Pastor equally asserts [76] that the bull of excommunication was useless. If, however, we consult the subsequent facts and events, we may feel inclined to believe, with cardinal Aegidius of Viterbo, that the French nobility was deeply impressed by the exemplary life of pope Alexander VI, for his bull could hardly have

74. See Document 163.
75. Storia d'Italia, Lib. II, Cap. V, p. 158.
76. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III. s. 342, n. 1.

brought results more efficacious than it did. It is true that the degenerate young King did not recall his troops from the kingdom of Naples and from Ostia, but he was prevented from sending assistance to them and forced to let them perish. He, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere ; his former valet, Stephan de Vesc, and his renegade captain, Giangiacomo Trivulzio, were about the only ones to approve of a new invasion of Italy. His journeys from Lyons to Tours and Paris, for the satisfaction of his adulterous lust, suspended his projects for several months [77] ; but it was the dread of excommunication and of its temporal consequences, besides other minor considerations, that made the whole of France oppose the King's further warlike designs and rendered them ultimately ineffectual. The four-fifths of the Parliament of Paris dissuaded him, in March of 1496, and made him decide to postpone his expedition for another year [78]. In the following month of July, the Queen expressed her wish that he should remain in the kingdom and abandon his undertaking against Italy ; and a letter of July 20th, 1496, announces to the Ten of Florence that king Charles' projects have passed into smoke, because of the lack of money, the nerve of war [79]. Cardinal Briçonnet, who had the most to lose by incurring the penalties of the bull, and was the principal officer of the King's treasury, sustained the Pontiff's orders by constantly objecting the unpreparedness of a new expedition and delaying to draw upon the available sources of the public income. The French clergy, moreover, the barons and the nobility generally opposed the King's aspirations and occasional fits of hostile resolutions [80]. The only practical infraction of the bull consisted in the abortive attempt of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere and

77. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, pp. 343-347.
78. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 408.
79. Id. ibid., p. 437.
80. Manfredi, Disp. ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, t. IV, p. 397.

of Baptista de Campofregoso to gain the city of Genoa for the French [81].

Seeing the turn of affairs in Italy, the French troops in the kingdom of Naples almost totally neglected and gradually expelled and annihilated, the city of Ostia recuperated and Genoa remaining faithful to Milan, and, above all, Charles VIII detained in France, pope Alexander VI continued to defer the publication of the sentence of excommunication and other penalties ; but, stimulated by repeated alarms of a new invasion, he was active in encouraging and assisting his allies.

According to Pastor [82], the Pope had, as early as the 30th of June, 1495, forbidden the Swiss to partake in war against any party of the Holy League ; and Foscari, the Venetian envoy to the imperial court, wrote on the 18th of June, 1496, that the papal legate, Leonello Chieregati, had threatened with excommunication some of the Cantons, if they should not withdraw their soldiers from the French army [83].

On the 13th of February, 1496, the Pontiff, in view of the menacing attitude of Charles VIII towards the Milanese territory, considered as an outpost for the defence of Italy, granted to Ludovico the Moro a subsidy of forty thousand ducats, to be levied on all ecclesiastical property of the duchy of Milan [84].

On the 22d of the following month of May, he concluded a letter of condolence to the dowager duchess of Savoy by requesting her to help him obtain, through the intercession of the new duke, that the king of France may concede to him

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81. Cagnola, Chronache Milanesi, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. III, p. 170 ; Malipiero, ibid., t. VII, P. I, p. 482 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. II. Cap. 41, f° 112 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II.

82. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s 342, n. 1.

83. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. II, p. 730.

84. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret., ann. I ad X, Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 449.

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and to all Italy the much desired peace, which would undoubtedly procure peace to all of Christendom [85].

ARTICLE III. — THE KING OF NAPLES RESTORED BY SPAIN.

The kings of Spain had sent a large fleet into Italian waters for the protection of Sicily and afterwards for the reinstatement of Ferdinand II of Naples. To divert the French arms from a new attack on Italy, they assembled a large number of troops about Perpignan in Roussillon, equipped another fleet in the bay of Biscay [86], and commenced hostilities in France in the beginning of September, 1495 [87]. Pope Alexander VI assisted them by declaring, on the 13th of September, their war to be a just war and undertaken according to his own advice, for the defence of the rights of the Roman church, the protection of ecclesiastical liberty and the peace of all Christendom. He subjected to excommunication and to its usual consequences all who should give to the king of France any help or advice, or should in any manner oppose in their warfare the Catholic kings of Spain [88].

When a year later, Charles VIII sent a powerful army to the Spanish frontier and captured the fortress of Salses, the king of Spain in fear of losing Roussillon again, dispatched ambassadors to France in order to propose a truce [89]. As soon as the Pope was informed of this move, he sent the Minim Father, Bernard Boil, to the Spanish king and queen, to request them not to contract with Charles VIII any private treaty of peace or truce, which would allow him to concentrate

85. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVII 50, versus finem.

86. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 354 ; Malipiero, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 439.

87. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. II, Cap. 13, f° 76.

88. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., ann. I ad X, Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 254.

89. Çurita, ubi supra, Cap. 36, f° 104.

all his troops and to lead them against Italy ; but to make with him a peace or long-lasting truce for and in the name of all the confederates. He did not believe, he said, that their Majesties would become forgetful of their honor and nobility and of their given word [90]. In making this request and proposal, the Pontiff followed the answer given by the Venetians, on the 19th of November, 1495, to Philip de Commines, whom the French king had sent to induce them to a separate peace with him [91]. Yet, Ferdinand, the Catholic, was the second prince to violate the articles of the Holy League, and he concluded with Charles VIII a private truce, to last two and a half months, until the 17th of January, 1497 [92]. The Pope wrote on several occasions to his confederate, the emperor elect, and sent, on the 26th of October, 1495, the bishop of Concordia to his court [93], to obtain his assistance against the usurper of the imperial as well as of the papal rights in Italy. Maximilian was careful to answer with bombastic promises. At the diet of Worms, in the year 1495, he tried to gather the needed money, but the common penny there prescribed was not collected yet when the meeting of Augsburg was held in 1501 [94]. Berchtold von Hennebergh, the elector archbishop of Mainz, was not ashamed to write, on the 9th of September, 1496, that nothing was to be expected from the Italians, who, in their avarice, wanted only to pick the pockets of the Germans, while his Sacred Roman Majesty was entering Italy to save it from the danger of servitude, to help the suffering Roman Church and to restore her to her former liberty—and to accept the imperial crown [95].

90. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Varia Politicorum, Cod. LV, f° 311.

91. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, p. 236.

92. Çurita, ubi supra ; Ranke, Geschichten, s. 100.

93. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., ann. I ad X, Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 350.

94. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. G. G. f° 190 and Cod. M. M., f° 14vo.

95. Ibid., Haus- Hof etc., Reichsregistratur, tom. K. K., f° 4; Ibid., Maximiliana, 1496, Nov. 6 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 389.

Maximilian had, indeed, gone to Italy, at last, and been received at Crema, on the 31st of August, 1496, by the papal legate, Cardinal de Carvajal, who had been vested, for the occasion, with the most ample powers, to prevent Charles VIII from renewing his incursion into Italy and to establish peace among Christian princes [96]. He was at the head of a ridiculous four thousand men, accompanied by a single German prince [97] and provided with an empty purse. He went by Genoa to Leghorn, which he besieged for a few days without any effect, although many Italian troops had flocked to his camp. All the while he was pressing the Pope and the dukes of Milan and Venice for the money which they had promised him, three months before, when feeling more in danger. Some of his troops secured their pay by plunder in the neighborhood of Como [98]. In vain did the papal nuncio, Chieregati, inform him, on the 26th of December 1496, that troops and money were coming to his relief from Germany [99]; he left Italy and went home before the end of the year, disgusted with his confederates, as much as these were with him [100].

The object of cardinal de Carvajal's mission to meet Maximilian was not only to encourage him in defending the rights of the Church, violated by king Charles VII; but also, should occasion offer, to admonish and require the French monarch to abstain from further molesting with a new invasion the Italian peninsula, and to restore to the Pontiff the territories and castles, like Ostia, unjustly taken from him. The Pope had, moreover, given to his legate the faculty of threatening Charles VIII with, and of inflicting on him, his abettors and

96. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret., ann. I ad X. Lib. VII, Regest. 873, fo 387vo ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 327.

97. Burchard, ibid., p. 332.

98. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch., Maximiliana, 1496 ; 5 Nov. ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, pp. 374, 376.

99. K. u. K. Hof etc. Maximiliana, 1496, Dec. 26.

100. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 390.

accomplices, any ecclesiastical censures, in case that he should refuse to obey [101].

Wishing to unite the whole of Italy, and thus to render more difficult a new irruption of the French, the Pontiff tried to separate Florence from its alliance with Charles VIII ; but his efforts were defeated by Savonarola, who threatened the King with the wrath of God, if he should neglect to return. To conciliate the good will of the Florentines and win them over to the Holy League, he exhorted his confederates to restore Pisa to them [102]. Yet, the Venetians, who wanted Pisa for themselves, rather sent troops to protect the city against Florence [103], that, in spite of constant deceptions of Charles VIII, continued to look to him for the restitution of the cities and fortresses of which he had deprived them. Nor was the Pope, with this same object in view, unfavorable to the scheme of replacing Piero de' Medici at the head of the Republic. While, however, this attempt also proved a failure, Florence remained a grave obstacle to the pacific aspirations of the Pontiff.

Although pope Alexander VI was displaying a wonderful activity in every direction and constantly devising means to prevent another invasion of Italy by the French, it was the kingdom of Naples, that, as its suzerain, he was in duty bound to protect, and upon which he bestowed his principal attentions and cares.

Hardly had Charles VIII left Naples, returning to France, when, with the aid of the Spanish fleet, commanded by Gonsalvo Fernandez de Cordova, king Ferdinand III attacked and recuperated the city of Reggio and successively several more

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101. The text of Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1496, no. V.

102. Manfredi, Disp. of the 22d of Dec. 1497, ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 396.

103. Idem, June, 1, 1496, and Sept. 5, 1497, ibid., pp. 371, 391.

places as well as the greater part of the province of Calabria [104]. On the 7th of June, 1495, he re-entered his capital, where he was joyfully received by the people, who, unable to endure any longer the excesses of the invaders, joined the soldiers of his fleet and drove the French governor, de Montpensier into the fortresses adjoining the city [105]. Capua, Aversa and Gaeta, hearing of the success in Naples, expelled the French ; but the last city was recaptured by Prospero Colonna, the Pope's rebel, hired to Charles VIII, was ravaged, partly burned down and its entire population killed with the sword [106].

De Montpensier made every effort to recover the city of Naples, but the Spanish and the Neapolitans, aided by the Venetian fleet, succeeded in keeping possession [107].

Nor was the Pontiff slow in sending reenforcements to the army of king Ferdinand II. Manfredi wrote from Florence, already on the 22d of July, 1495, that the Pope had dispatched to Naples a hundred and fifty light horse, under the command of Sforzino [108].

On the 17th of August, he sent again a number of men-at-arms and soldiers of his army, under the direction of his nephew, Giovanni de Borgia, bishop elect of Melphi [109].

By a bull of the same date, he named the same Giovanni de Borgia a Legate " a latere " to the king of Naples, with special faculties to annul the oath of fidelity pledged to

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104. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LV, 27, f° 11 ; Dom. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 352 ; Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv.. Maximiliana, 1495, Juni 1.

105. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, t. V, p. 83 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 63.

106. Balan, ibid.

107. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Maximiliana, 1495, Juni 1 ; Domen. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 343.

108. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 360.

109. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 286.

Charles VIII by some of its clergy and its nobility ; and to absolve them from the crime of perjury [110].

One great advantage of all these struggles was the turning about of the Colonna barons, from stipendiaries of Charles VIII to auxiliaries of Ferdinand II. As soon as these noblemen noticed the chances of the Frenchmen to decline, they wavered in their allegiance. Their friend, the duke of Urbino, approached them in the name of the Holy League, and the Pope, together with the king of Naples, offered them most favorable conditions, that easily swung them over to the Neapolitan standards. With their assistance and that of the Pontiff [111], Ferdinand reduced the two fortresses of Naples to dire extremity, and de Montpensier was compelled, in the beginning of October, to enter into a treaty by which he obliged himself to surrender the forts after forty days, if he should receive no assistance from France; and king Ferdinand was to supply him with food in the meantime. de Montpensier, violating his oath, escaped, towards the end of the month, and joined the French forces in Salerno ; yet, the Castellum Novum and the one dell' Ovo surrendered at the stipulated time [112].

About the middle of October, pope Alexander VI had sent to Naples new reenforcements, consisting of forty companies of soldiers, commanded by his nephew, Jofre de Borgia [113].

During the whole latter half of the year 1495, the Pope had paid large sums to the condottieri whom he kept at the disposal of his vassal, king Ferdinand ; and his treasury was not only empty but burdened with debts. On the 6th of February, 1496, he felt obliged to impose a regular tithe and a subsidy of four thousand ducats on all church property of

110. Ibid., f° 180vo.

111. Rome, Bibl. Corsini, Cod. 1323, f° 40; Corio, Stor. di Milano, vol. III, p. 601 ; Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 361.

112. Card. Cæsarini, ubi supra; Balan, ubi supra.

113. Malipiero, Annal. Venet., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 398.

the kingdom of Naples, for whose preservation under the suzerainty of the Roman Pontiff the proceeds were to be spent [114].

A few days later, he sent two messengers, one after another, to Bernard Contarini, admonishing him to hasten his departure for Naples, with his command of seven hundred and fifty stradiots and one thousand men on foot. When the captain appeared in Rome, on the last day of February, the Pontiff allowed him only one week to be on his way to the kingdom. The contemporary reporter adds that, on his arrival, Contarini met and defeated a detachment of French soldiers [115].

Other papal auxiliary troops also compelled the French, who had gathered in Nocera, to abandon that place to the power of the Aragonese [116].

On the 18th of May, 1496, pope Alexander VI named the bishop of Conversano his commissary with the army of Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, who, at the pay of the Holy League, was on the point of leaving for the defence of Ferdinand II. He gave to the bishop faculties to make contracts of peace with, and to absolve, all former rebels of king Ferdinand II, as also to impose financial and spiritual penalties upon all, who should continue in their rebellion against him [117].

On the 3d of July, he granted a plenary indulgence, for the hour of death, to the Spanish soldiers who should die in this war against the assailants of the rights of the Roman church and of its legitimate vassal, the king of Naples [118].

The governor, de Montpensier, was slowly but steadily losing ground in the kingdom, and had repeatedly implored help from his King. Charles VIII finally, sent to him the

114. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 413.

115. Domen. Malipiero, ibid., p. 424.

116. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 363.

117. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 359.

118. Ibid., f° 300vo.

rebellious vassals of the Pope, Camillo and Paolo Vitelli ; and through them, won over to his side the Roman barons, Virginio and Paolo Orsini, who readily sold themselves to their former enemy ; jealous, as they were, of the favors received from king Ferdinand by their antagonists, the Colonna barons [119].

As the invaders and their auxiliaries were gradually expelled from one city after another, they retired principally to the castle of Atella ; but here they were besieged until their provisions became exhausted, and, on the 28th of July, 1496, de Montpensier made an agreement with king Ferdinand, who was to procure the needed victuals, and the French should, after thirty days, evacuate the whole kingdom, if no assistance were received from France [120]. After the stipulated days were passed, the defenders of Atella were transferred to Baia and Pozzuoli near Naples, where under a burning sun, an epidemic spread among them, and de Montpensier, with nearly all his men, was buried in a country that they had so brutally abused. Of the five thousand brought to Baia and Pozzuoli only about two hundred returned to France [121].

The garrison of Gaeta, three hundred and twenty men, were the last French soldiers remaining in the Southern kingdom. They capitulated on the 19th of November, 1496, and surrendered a few days after. They embarked for France ; but on the 2d of December, pope Alexander VI received infor-

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119. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48; Ibid. Cod. LV, 27, f° 11 ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 342.

120. Manfredi, Disp. ap. Cappelli, Atti e Memor., t. IV, p. 372; Balan Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 365.

121. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 122 ; Balan, ubi supra ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 385.—At the treaty of Atella, Paolo Vitelli had been delivered, as a hostage, into the hands of the Venetian captain, the marquis of Mantua, who set him free at the surrender of the castle; while Virginio and Paolo Orsini were confided to king Ferdinand II, and were retained in prison by him. Virginio died a captive: Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48 ; Balan, ubi supra.

mation, that all, but about a score of them, had perished in a storm, off the city of Terracina [122].

It was feared that his reverses in the kingdom of Naples might stimulate Charles VIII to a new invasion of Italy ; emperor Maximilian had even heard that he was already on his way to renew the war [123]. The members of the Holy League endeavored, therefore, to have also the king of England join their confederacy for the protection of the peninsula. They succeeded. On the 18th of July, 1496 [124], the ambassador of England signed a new league with the confederates of the former. It was solemnly published, on Sunday, the 31st of July, in Venice, and at the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, in the presence of the Pontiff, who sent a cap and sword of honor to his new ally, on this occasion [125].

This renewal of the Holy League was for Charles VIII a solemn admonition, that he could not attempt to subvert Italy again, without seeing his own kingdom invaded from every quarter. As it might, however, be expected that he would heed de Montpensier's cry of distress and send assistance to him, pope Alexander VI dispatched, on the 15th of August, still more troops to Naples, under the command of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro ; of Antonio, the brother of the duke of Urbino and of his own nephew, Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, who had just arrived from Spain a few days before [126].

The Pontiff also watched every attempt that might be made in the kingdom of Naples in favor of the lingering French

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122. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 339 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1496, no. XIV.

123. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. G. G. f° 190.

124. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 290, footn. refer. to Rymer, Fœdera, t. XII, p. 638.

125. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 334 ; Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 439 ; Ranke, Geschichten, p. 98.

126. Gianpietro Cagnola, Cronache Milanesi, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. II, p. 206 ; supra, vol. I, p. 87.

party. On the 1st of September, 1496, having heard that some prelates and other ecclesiastics fostered rebellion against king Ferdinand II, he ordered his legate, cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, to juridically search the acts of every suspected clergyman and to report in writing to him the results of his inquests ; yet, he reserved to himself the further course of action to be followed [127].

The Pope thus exerted, for three long years, all his power, political, financial and spiritual, to uphold justice, the rights of the Roman Church and of his loyal vassals ; and he contributed almost as efficaciously as the king of Spain and the republic of Venice in restoring his lost crown to the king of Naples. Even, when Ferdinand II was willing to sacrifice to the Venetians a portion of his State for the help to receive from them, pope Alexander VI approved, indeed, the payment of their expenses, but produced his own rights of suzerainty as objection to any dismembrement or cession of part of the kingdom [128].

When nearly all the French had left the kingdom of Naples and peace was being restored, king Ferdinand II returned with his queen to their capital city. He kept steadily at work for the reestablishment of order, but was seized by a malignant flux, that gradually reduced his strength and caused his death, on the 9th of October, 1496 [129].

His uncle, Frederic, son of Ferdinand I succeeded him, and was crowned by the apostolic delegate, Cesar de Borgia, on the 10th of August of the following year [130].

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127. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad X, Lib. VII, Regest. 873, p. 270.

128. Dom. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, pp. 365, 308, 419 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 363.

129. Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48; Ranke, Geschichten, s. 67.

130. Card. Cæsarini, ibid., supra, vol. I, p. 368.

The king of France, Charles VIII, had, finally, abandoned his designs against Italy, and reconciled himself, a few days before his death, with pope Alexander VI, who had sent to him a secret messenger, introduced to the King by Philip de Commines [131]. He suddenly died of apoplexy, in Amboise, on the 7th of April, 1498 [132]. His successor was Louis XII.

131. Memoires, Liv. VIII, Ch. XVIII, p. 188 ; Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Commines, t. II, p. 246.

132. Commines, ibid., p. 189 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1493, no. 1.

CHAPTER VIII.

Conquests of Louis XII in Italy.

ARTICLE I. — HIS FRIENDSHIP TOWARDS CESAR DE BORGIA.

King Louis XII was consecrated in Rheims, on the 27th of May, 1498 [1], and the Pope was considerably disquieted by his assuming on that occasion the ominous titles of Duke of Milan and King of Naples [2]. Yet, having little confidence in Frederic, the Neapolitan king, he was desirous of the friendship of the new French monarch [3].

On the 4th of June [4], he sent an unusual and solemn embassy, consisting of the archbishop of Ragusa, Adrian Castello, a cleric of his treasury and Raymund Centelles, his treasurer of Perugia, to congratulate Louis XII upon his accession to the throne, and to express his wishes in regard to his future policy. By the directions given to his envoys, he requests the King's powerful help towards an expedition against the Turks, which, he says, was likely to be successful now that he could hope to see Italy undisturbed and ever more united. He dissuades him from all undertaking against the kingdom of Naples, and offers to do him full and impartial justice, if he should be willing to present any claims upon it before the papal tribunal.

The Pontiff further directs his envoys, in case that His Majesty should mention the duchy of Milan, to beg him not

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1. Commines, Memoires, Liv. VIII, Ch. XX, p. 196.

2. Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. IV, cap. 1 ; Archiv. della Società Roman. di Storia patria, vol. IV, p. 136, footn.

3. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 389, ref. to the dispatch dated the 10th of June, 1498, of the Ferrarese ambassador in Venice. Giov. Alberto Pigna.

4. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 474.

to weaken by new wars the forces of Christendom, so much needed to oppose the common enemy ; but rather to continue the forbearance of his ancestors, who have left the Sforzas in possession of Milan for over fifty years ; while, moreover, the duke, Ludovico, shall be most respectful towards him, and the pope shall willingly interpose, should any disagreement arise between them.

And should the King speak of Florence, they shall advise him to do justice to its people, his devoted servants, and to restore Pisa to them ; so that all cause of war may be eliminated, and the Florentines be united with the other states of Italy for the holy expedition against the Turks. The envoys shall admonish His Majesty not to hire as condottieri the Orsini, the Colonna or other vassals of the Church without the consent of the Pontiff, in order that they may not, with troops paid by him, molest the Pontifical territories and the Roman court. The envoys shall, finally, relate to the King the evil deeds of the prefect of Rome, Giovanni della Rovere, and his attempt to slander the Pope, by representing him as siding with the Turks; and request him not to bestow any honors upon this malefactor, condemned by the tribunal of the apostolic chamber [5].

The reader of this document will not fail to notice the constant solicitude of pope Alexander VI for the defence of Europe from the invasion of the cruel Turks, his patriotic zeal for the peace of Italy, and his remarkable courage with which, to obtain those ends, he tried to refrain the French king from his intimated ambitious designs.

Louis XII was not brusque with the Sovereign Pontiff. Albèri relates [6] that he even agreed not to interfere with the

5. Farlati, Illyria Sacra, t VI, p. 200; Archiv. Vatic. Politicorum Varia, VII, f° 610 ; LV, f° 300 ; Ibid., Diversorum, Cod. 122, f° 157 ; Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 818 or 33 F. 1, f° 207 ; Bibl. Vittor. Eman. Mss. Jesuitici, no. 275, f° 234 ; etc.

6. Relazione degli Ambasciatori Veneti, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 7.

Neapolitan kingdom, if it was not to assist the Pope against it. In fact, he needed the good will of pope Alexander VI to obtain a quick judgment and declaration of the nullity of his marriage with Lady Jeane de Valois, and dispensation to marry his predecessor's widow, Anna of Britany. He wisely thought that he would more easily attain his political schemes through the Pope's friendship than by acting in spite of him. He decided, therefore, to reciprocate the Pontiff's honorable embassy with the promise of a loyal obeisance to him, and the bestowal of honors and temporal benefits upon the dearest of his nephews, Cesar de Borgia, who was on the point of relinquishing all church dignities and revenues, to enter a secular career.

On the very day that Cesar applied before the Consistory for permission to resign the cardinalate, on the 17th of August, 1498, Louis de Villeneuve, baron of Trans, entered the city, to honorably conduct him into France [7]. To the gratification of the Pontiff, Louis XII named, during that same month, his nephew, " Domp Cezar de Bourgia, neveu du Pappe, " count of Valentinois and of Diois, two estates of the present department of the Drôme, which, by right, belonged to the Roman church [8], and which he raised, for the greater honor of the recipient, to the rank of duchies, during the next following month of October [9].

He assigned, as yearly revenue from these territories, the sum of twenty thousand pound to Cesar and to his heirs forever ; and, when it was afterwards found that the actual incomes did not amount to the promised sum, the King added to them the Seigniory of Issoudun, in the duchy of Berry, to make up for the deficiency.

Cesar should go and reside in France, and be at the service

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7. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 493.
8. Gobellinus, Pii II. Comment., p. 220.
9. Chevalier, Répertoire, p. 333.

of Louis XII, who promised to repay all the expenses of the journey [10], as it is attested by royal patent letters, issued at Montilz near Blois, in April of 1499.

The King further obliged himself to give in marriage to the new duke of Valentinois the daughter of king Frederic of Naples, Charlotte, who was raised and living at the French court ; or, in her stead, a relative of his own, " une sienne parente de son sang ", and to adopt him into the royal house of France. The promises were duly made in a diploma given at Etampes, in the month of August, 1498 [11].

The concessions and pledges of Louis XII did not fail to obtain the approval of pope Alexander VI and inaugurated their mutual good will. But this new friendship alarmed Frederic, king of Naples, who feared that it might eventually deprive him of his throne ; and he incited Ferdinand of Spain, who, himself, had never surrendered his rights to the Neapolitan crown [12], to oppose Cesar de Borgia's resignation of the cardinalate and his departure for France. Consequently, the Spanish ambassador, Garcilasso de la Vega, in the name of the Catholic king, required the Pontiff, in harsh terms [13], to prevent his nephew from renouncing his sacred dignity and accepting the invitation of king Louis XII ; if, at least, the members of the Holy League should not give their consent. According to Çurita [14] the Pope answered him that the Holy League was not affected by the journey of Cesar, who was but a private individual and could do as he pleased ; that he, himself, would ever be true to the colleagued princes, and that,

10. Which actually amounted to one hundred and fifteen thousand pound.

11. Paris, Archiv. Nation., K. 188, no. 154 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III, Cap. 28, f° 150.

12. As son of John of Aragon, brother of Alfonso I, king of Naples.

13. Pastor (Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 419, 420), referring to Sanuto and the unreliable reports of the Venetian ambassadors, says that the Spanish envoys threatened the Pontiff with a council to depose him ; but he agrees that they were influenced by mere political motives.

14. Ubi supra.

moreover, he expected much good to result from it all, for the king of Spain ; because he would manage an understanding of Louis XII with him, while the French king had, since his accession to the throne, promised under oath, not to interfere with the affairs of the Neapolitan kingdom, without the Pope's intervention.

Cesar de Borgia embarked on the 1st of October, 1498, on one of the light galleys sent for him from Marseilles [15]. He landed in this city, on the 13th, and arrived in Chinon, eight leagues from Tours, on the 19th of December. Here he was most honorably received by king Louis XII and his court [16].

After a most expensive journey, his entry in Chinon was magnificent, almost royal. The papal treasury had paid several considerable sums of money to the spearmen, who were to be his guard during his stay in France, to six Roman citizens and to the noble Gian Giordano Orsini, who accompanied him as an escort of honor [17]. The King, who had to repay him found, no doubt, the expenditures to have been excessive.

Cesar was the bearer of an autograph letter of the Pontiff, who specially recommended him to the kindness of the French king [18]. He also carried with him a cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Rouen, George d'Amboise, to whom it was solemnly presented on the 21st of December [19]. It is pure calumny, however, when Gregorovius asserts [20] that, according to agreement, the Pope had also confided to him a bull, granting

15. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 495; Biaggio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 8; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 146 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 388.

16. Decret. Consistorialia, ab anno 1498 per totum an. 1620, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barber., XXXVI, 7, f° 10 ; Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Latin, Cod. 12555, f° 15 ; Balan, ubi supra.

17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Armar. 29, no. 52, fiis 109, 116, 172vo ; Introitus et Exitus, at various dates from the 18th of Sept. 1498 to Aug. 23d, 1499.

18. See Document 164.

19. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 7, f° 10.

20. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 423.

to Louis XII a divorce from his former wife. The Pontiff had neither motive nor reason to issue such a bull, after he had charged special commissioners with the question of the validity of the King's first marriage ; and it is reported [21], that, on the 16th of December, he had already been duly informed of the final sentence of invalidity, rendered in open court, with the assent of thirty-three doctors in theology and law, among whom but a single one disagreed. Gregorovius adds that Cesar was allowed to keep the bull or to sell it at the highest price. Other enemies of the Borgias apply this libelous remark, with more appearance of possibility, to an alleged bull of dispensation, giving to the King permission to marry Anna of Bretagne ; but the facts prove that Cesar had for sale no papal bull whatsoever.

Already on the 18th of January, 1499, cardinal Giuliano della Rovere wrote from Nantes to the Pope [22], that the duke of Valentinois had gained for himself, through his great qualities, the affection of everyone at the French court. He had, in particular, succeeded in bringing about, with the help of the King, a reconciliation between the Pontiff and cardinal Giuliano himself, who ever since acted in a friendly manner with the Borgias, until he was elevated to the supreme pontificate.

Cardinal della Rovere wrote, however, at the same time, that princess Charlotte of Aragon constantly refused to marry the duke of Valentinois, either from personal dislike, or, more probably, he says, through instigation of others. Her principal adviser was her father, who, distrusting both the Pope and the French king, wanted his daughter to consent only on the condition that Louis XII should guarantee to him the quiet

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21. Decreta Consistorialia, ubi supra.

22. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rome, Bd. VII, s. 425, n. 1.

possession of his kingdom of Naples [23] : a condition which was not accepted.

To keep his promise, king Louis offered to the Duke the choice of any marriageable French princess ; in particular, a daughter of the late duke de Montpensier or of the lord de Candala or of the lord Alain d'Albret [24]. Cesar proposed to Charlotte d'Albret, the sister [25] of the king of Navarra, and was readily accepted by her Illustrious father and by herself. The marriage took place on the 10th [26] day of May, 1499 [27]. The King himself announced the event to the Pope by an autograph French letter of the 13th, given in Montilz near Blois, that was read in the consistory of the 24th [28], at which was also published a letter of the bride, stating her satisfaction and announcing an intended visit of hers to the Holy Father [29].

The ambassador of Venice wrote to the Seigniory that the lord d'Albret had bargained to give his daughter to Cesar de Borgia, on the conditions that her brother Amaneus should be proclaimed a cardinal, that the Pope should pay her a hundred and eighty thousand ducats and buy for her dot, an estate in France, that would bring her a yearly income of twelve thousands ducats. He added that such a freehold estate had already been paid for with papal money [30]. Burchard relates [31] that there was a similar rumor, " ut dicebatur ", in Rome ; but, neither in the accounts of the papal treasury nor in any other contemporary record is there any-

23. Biaggio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 8.

24. de Labrit, d'Alibret or de Lebreto—Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III, Cap. 28, f° 150.

25. Not the daughter of the king of Navarra, as Gilbert relates : Lucretia Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara, vol. I, p. 67.

26. Not on the 12th, as said by Gilbert, ibid.

27. Acta Consistor., ap. Rome. Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXX, 10, f° 51vo ; Jovius, Elogiorum, Lib. IV, p. 131 ; Chevalier, Répertoire, p. 333 ; Aa. passim.

28. Not on the 22d, as Gregorovius says, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 425.

29. Acta Consistor., ubi supra.

30. Alberi, Relazioni, vol. III, p. 7.

31. Diar., t. II, p. 526.

thing to confirm the ambassador's tale. Amaneus d'Albret was elevated to the cardinalate, it is true, but only two years later, although he was on the road to that dignity since the 1st of March, 1493, when he was made a prothonotary apostolic [32].

After his marriage, the duke of Valentinois settled in France, and became more and more intimate with the King. Louis XII engaged him as a condottiere with a company of a hundred lances [33] and, on the 19th of May, 1498, the feast of Pentecost, he received him into the royal Order of St. Michael [34]. Cesar commenced to write his name as " Cesar de Borgia de Francia " [35], and to act and think as if he had been a born Frenchman [36].

He was easily convinced of the rights of Louis XII to the duchy of Milan, and openly favored his projects against Ludovico the Moro. He even furnished money to his royal benefactor, to help him prepare his armies for the conquest of the duchy, " pour subvenir aux frais de ses guerres ". The first time, he lent him a hundred and fifteen thousand gold scudi, " ecuz d'or couronne " ; then, fifty thousand scudi, and, on a third occasion, fifty thousand pounds tournois ; for all of which amounts the King gave him his note on parchment provided with his seal and signed by himself and his minister, Robertet, on the last day of March, 1499 [37].

Louis XII, who was anxious to make his solemn act of obeisance to the Sovereign Pontiff, had, on the 4th day of February, 1499, prepared his instructions for the members of the grand embassy, which he was to send to Rome for that

32. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Officia, an. I, II, III. Lib. I. Regest. 876, fo 124vo.

33. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III, Cap. 28, fo 150 ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, Abt. I, s. 228.

34. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 532; Çurita, ubi supra, fo 163vo.

35. Archiv. della Società di Storia patria, vol. IV, p. 115, footn.

36. Ronchini, ap. Atti e Memorie, Nuova. Ser., t. I, p. 37.

37. Paris, Archives Nation., K. 188, no. 154.

purpose. He had designated cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to be its leader, and the duke of Valentinois to occupy the second place, while the bishops of Famagusta and of Frejus and several royal officials were to complete the number of the ambassadors [38].

It was on this occasion that the Pontiff prevailed on the French king to allow Cesar de Borgia to remain in the Pontifical States, where he intended to appoint him as Captain General of the papal army, with the object of reducing to submission his faithless and disloyal feudatories.

ARTICLE II. — LOUIS XII CONQUERS THE DUCHY OF MILAN.

The king of France was decided to commence as soon as possible the conquest of the duchy of Milan, which, as duke of Orleans, he had been compelled to abandon in the year 1495. His chances of success had been considerably improved since that time ; for the Venetians, then the allies of the duke, Ludovico the Moro, had now become his bitter enemies and were actually at war with him, about the independence of Pisa, or its submission to the Florentine republic. While the duke of Milan was inciting the Sultan of Constantinople to assail more than ever the Venetian possessions, the Seigniory abandoned what was left of the Holy League, and sent ambassadors to the French court, to form another league with Louis XII, for Ludovico the Moro's ruin.

Already towards the end of November, 1498, an agreement had been arrived at between Venice and France [39] ; and a regular treaty was signed on the 9th of February, proclaimed on the 25th of March and confirmed in Blois, the 15th day of

38. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 2930, f° 1.

39. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 388, refer. to its articles in the State Archives of Modena.

April, 1499 [40]. Venice was to attack the Eastern part of the Milanese territory and to retain the city and district of Cremona and the Gera d'Adda, while to Louis XII should belong all the remainder of the duchy of Milan [41].

Corio assures us [42] that pope Alexander VI was a member of the new league, from its very beginning, on the additional condition that Louis XII should help Cesar de Borgia to conquer several cities of Romagna, and, reciprocally, that Cesar should lend assistance to the King in recovering the kingdom of Naples. This assertion is, however, evidently false, as appears from the very first article of the treaty of Blois, which stipulates that the Most Christian King and the Doge of Venice shall forever be friends and confederates against all but the present Roman Pontiff, who is allowed to enter the league, if he pleases to do so [43]. That the Pope was no original party to the agreement, but was free to adhere to the treaty, is further testified by the records of the Sacred Consistory [44], where it is stated that the Pope read, on the 27th of February, 1499, a letter of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, notifying him that, on the 9th of that month, the Venetians had become confederates of the French. On the same occasion the Venetian ambassador informed the consistory that he also had received letters to that effect, but that a place in the treaty had been reserved for the Sovereign Pontiff. Soon after, the Seigniory sent an envoy to Rome, to ask whether His Holiness was willing to enter the league [45].

Gregorovius and several other historians pretend that pope

40. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 421, ref. to Archiv. Consist. ; Corio, Stor. di Milano vol. III, p. 682 ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 389 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 253.

41. Corio, ibid., pp. 701, 688 ; Muzzi, ubi supra ; Balan, ubi supra, p. 389.

42. Ibid., p. 682.

43. Lünig, Codex Italiae diplomaticus, t. II, col. 1993.

44. Archiv. S. Consist., 1492-1493, fo 29vo ; Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXVI, 10, fo 41vo.

45. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III, Cap. 34, fo 161.

Alexander VI afterwards joined the league, or, at least allied with the French king, on the condition that Louis XII should lend assistance to Cesar de Borgia to conquer the disloyal feudatories of the Church in Romagna [46]. Muzzi [47] asserts the condition to have been, that Cesar should be made duke of Valentinois and of Romagna, not knowing that he had obtained the former title several months before and that no one thought yet of the latter. Those authors commit the fallacy of assuming as effects of a supposed previous treaty, certain events which afterwards happened to take place.

Louis XII, it is true, assisted Cesar to submit Imola and Forli, and to threaten Pesaro, towards the end of the year 1499 ; but, in doing so, he acceded to a request [48], and not to a right, of the Pope ; he showed his gratitude to his friend, Cesar de Borgia, who had helped him to prepare his armies, when yet in France ; and, above all, he took care of his own interests in Milan, against Catharina Sforza, Ludovico the Moro's illegitimate sister, the governess of Forli and Imola, who had, on the 24th of July, sent to Ludovico the Moro fifty mounted crossbowmen, to fight the French invader of Milan [49]. Neither could he be ignorant of the fact, that the lord of Pesaro, Giovanni, another Sforza, was Ludovico's agent, together with Frederic, the king of Naples, to invoke the help of the Turks against him [50].

There was no need, therefore, of a treaty with pope Alexander VI, to make Louis XII act as he did, in favor of the Captain General of the papal troops, Cesar de Borgia ; nor is there any indication of any such treaty, besides the assertion of his enemies, who thus try to cast upon him the odium of recklessly

46. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 116, 426; Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, t. III, Chap. X, p. 4.

47. Annali di Bologna, t. V, p. 254.

48. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 704 ; Machiavelli, Il Principe, Cap. VII, p. 34.

49. Machiavelli, Legazione a Forli, Opere, vol. V, p. 31.

50. Corio, ubi supra, pp. 704, 705.

calling foreigners to subjugate Italy, the land of his adoption [51]. Yet, when he discovered, " trovò ", that the Venetians had invited the French to invade Italy again [52], the Seigniory incurred the hatred of the whole Roman court [53], and, as we know from the contemporary Florentine, Biaggio Buonaccorsi [54], the Pope sent to Florence, on the 12th of June, his legate, cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, who also proceeded to Venice, in order to propose a general coalition of the Italian States against a new incursion of the French [55] ; but the diarist remarks that the Florentines protested their fidelity to Louis XII, that matters were too far advanced, to leave to the legate any hope of success, and that it was time for the Pontiff to take up other designs and a different policy.

In fact, what could the old Italian patriot, Alexander VI, do, when he saw the two republics of Florence and Venice combined with the French monarch ? Moreover, he learned, probably through this mission of cardinal de Borgia [56], that the duke of Milan was in correspondence with the Turks, who were just then violently attacking the Venetian possessions extending their inhuman raids as far as Zara in Dalmatia [57]. This information completely reversed at once the inclinations and projects of pope Alexander VI. Instead of considering Louis XII as an invader of the Italian peninsula, he now regarded him as a providential defender of Christianity. He sent an envoy to invite the King, since Ludovico the Moro had

51. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 420.
52. Machiavelli, Il Principe, Cap. VII, p. 34.
53. Malipiero, Relazioni Veneti, ser. 2, t. III, p. 7.
54. Diario de Successi piu importanti, p. 22 ; Balan, Istor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 386.
55. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III, Cap. 38, f° 165.
56. Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 437.
57. In November, 1499, after his flight from Milan, Ludovico Sforza again requested the help of the Sultan against Venice and France, promising him, in return, all possible help in the future. In his letter is also compromised the character of Frederic, king of Naples, as being well acquainted with the details of his complot with the Turks : Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, pp. 698-707.

called in the aid of the Turks, to personally come and espouse the cause of religion and civilization [58]. Malipiero relates [59] that he, with the duke of Urbino, prevented the passage of the troops of the king of Naples, who were on their way to assist the duke of Milan, and deprived them of their horses and arms.

We have given already an historical sketch of the conquest of the duchy of Milan by Louis XII, and it may suffice here to add a few short remarks. The French army, which entered the Milanese territory on the 1st of August, 1499, met with little resistance from captain Galeazo di San Severino, who, through poltroonery or treachery, fled from Alexandria and left the way open to the capital. Here, the people, tired of the exactions and tyranny of their duke, revolted against him, and admitted his enemies within the city of Milan, while Ludovico Sforza fled to Germany, on the 2d of September, begging for help from the emperor Maximilian and from Bajazet, the sultan of Constantinople.

The Milanese condottiere, now a French captain, Giangiacomo Trivulzio, was entrusted with the government of the duchy, but he abused of his authority, to take personal revenge, to oppress the people worse than ever, and to allow all kinds of excesses to his brutal soldiery ; until the Milanese finally threw off the unbearable yoke, and recalled their former duke, who had treated them less cruelly. Ludovico the Moro, actually, reentered Milan on the 3d of February, 1500 ; and, at the head of his army, went in pursuit of the enemy as far as the city of Novara, where the French, rallied and, reenforced, were ready to accept battle. The Swiss, however, in the pay of the duke, refused to fight their countrymen that

58. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III. Cap. 38, f° 165vo.

59. Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 559.

were with the French, and delivered him to the officers of the King.

Louis XII had no difficulty in recovering the whole duchy of Milan in a few days, and kept the Moro incarcerated until emperor Maximilian obtained for the prisoner, by a treaty of October the 13th and December the 13th, 1501, the freedom of a decent habitation and of an area of five leagues, where he could comfortably live, exercise and hunt with his retainers [60]. Gregorovius erroneously makes Ludovico die away, after a ten years' confinement in a dark dungeon of the castle of Loches in Berry [61].

ARTICLE III. — FRANCE AND SPAIN DIVIDE AND CONQUER THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

King Louis XII had, from the beginning of his reign, manifested his intention of taking possession not only of the duchy of Milan, but also of the kingdom of Naples. Pope Alexander VI, who was at the time, from patriotic and political motives, opposed to this latter project, was favorable to Frederic, the Neapolitan king. He had, in the year 1497, dispensed him, for life, from paying the yearly census of eight thousand ounces of gold and the fifty thousand marks sterling that were already due ; in the hope, as it is stated, that he would ever remain a defender of the Church [62]. We noticed that, at his embassy of congratulation in the year 1498, he dissuaded the new king of France from executing his designs against Naples. Afterwards, to save his vassal's throne, he proposed to Louis XII the payment of a yearly tribute, to be made to him by the Neapolitan king ; yet, in vain [63]. He even

60. Lünig, Codex Italiae diplomaticus, t. I, col. 117.
61. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 441.
62. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniania, Cod. 1045 or 34. G. g. f° 243.
63. Çurita, Histor. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 29.

tried to interest in king Frederic's defence the republic of Venice and the emperor of Germany [64] ; but Venice remained friendly to her French confederates.

Emperor Maximilian was retaining Louis XII in France through war against him, but, on the 13th of December, 1500, the German princes gave him an opportunity to commence his Neapolitan expedition, by concluding with him a truce to last until the 1st of the next month of July ; and at the diet of Nuremberg, on the 6th of the following March, they promised to procure him a permanent peace with the emperor himself. Louis XII answered them on the 24th of the same month, that he would respect all the rights of the empire in Italy ; and, on the 22d of June, 1501, he wrote again to the assembled princes, greatly disturbed by the incursions of the Turks into territory of the empire, so that it was more to the advantage of Germany to make peace with him, than to protect the usurper Frederic of Naples, who was notorious for his alliance with the Infidels, to the danger and disgrace of all Christianity [65].

Indeed, king Frederic, forgetful of the kindness and endeavors of the Pontiff in his behalf, and having given up all reliance on him, because of his friendly relations with Louis XII, had placed all his hopes in the fierce enemies of the Christian religion, had offered them free entrance upon Italian soil and generally allied himself with their Sultan, Bajazet. Hardly had the French king manifested his intention of occupying the Southern kingdom, when Frederic commenced his correspondence with the Turkish monarch, and he was not ashamed of informing the king of Spain about it in a letter of the 24th of July, 1498 [66]. On the 31st of July, 1499, he sent an envoy to Constantinople, to offer the city of

64. Id. ibid., Cap. 43.

65. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. M. M. fiis 49vo, 51, 51vo, 74vo.

66. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. XV, p. 238.

Taranto to Bajazet, should the Sultan wish to conduct by that place his intended attack upon Rome ; on the condition of restoring to him the territories occupied by the Venetians in the province of Apulia [67]. It would be long to report the details of this dreadful treachery, and it may suffice to state that we found it related by the contemporary Brandolinus Lippus [68], " I Borgia " [69], Prescott [70], the Civiltà Cattolica [71], Gregorovius [72], Pastor [73] and Balan [74]. Pope Alexander VI himself asserts that Frederic made an agreement and alliance with the Turks, whom he wanted to introduce into the kingdom of Naples [75].

After this, it is no wonder if the Pontiff had lost all good will towards his criminal feudatory, and if, in October, 1500, Paolo Cappello, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, reported that the Pope had become king Frederic's bitterest enemy [76].

As soon as his conquest of Milan was secure, Louis XII made preparations for the recovery of the kingdom of Naples, the rights to whose possession he pretended, like his predecessor, Charles VIII, to have inherited from the former dynasty of the Angevines. King Frederic, although relying on the Turks, also applied for assistance to the king of Spain ; but this monarch felt reluctant to go to war against France again, for the protection of his Neapolitan cousin, whose throne he considered as belonging to himself, as son of John II of Aragon, to whom it was due, according to the declaration of pope Calixtus III and the laws of feudalism, at the death of his brother Alfonso I, whose son, Ferdinand I, king Frederic's

67. Domen. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, pp. 171, 586.
68. Römische Quartalschr., Bd. II, p. 196.
69. P. 64, ref. to Gianone, Introduz. and Cap. I, 3.
70. Ferdinand and Isabella, Part II. Ch. X, p. 10.
71. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 656.
72. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 450.
73. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 433.
74. Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 405.
75. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 57.
76. Albèri, Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 8.

father, was debarred from its inheritance through his illegitimate birth. Ferdinand of Spain was, moreover, apprehensive of meeting, at the same time, a second enemy, whom he was just then fighting of the Adriatic Sea, the Turks, whose fleet king Frederic had hastened to call to his aid. He thought it wiser policy, rather to combine with Louis XII and secure at least a portion of his claim upon the kingdom of Naples ; and, together with the French, oppose the inveterate fiends of all Christians [77].

He broached his claims upon Naples, when he sent his ambassador, Mosen Gralla, to propose this question to the influential minister of Louis XII, the cardinal George d'Amboise : " How would it be, if we should concert about Naples, as you did with Venice in regard to Milan ? " The cardinal, who had long since feared the opposition of the Spanish monarch to his master's design, gave this answer : " And so we should preserve peace between the two kingdoms " [78]. The negotiations that followed resulted in the treaty of Granada, which divided among the two foreign Kings the provinces and yearly revenues of the kingdom of Naples and confirmed to Spain the possession of Cerdaña and Roussillon. This accord was signed at Tours in Touraine [79] on the 11th of November [80] ; and in Granada, already on September the 22d, 1499 [81]. The treaty was to remain absolutely secret and the Pope should be requested to grant the investiture of each half to the Kings respectively.

It was resolved to send, after the feast of Christmas, their ambassadors to Rome, to acquaint the Pontiff with the con-

77. Cfr. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III, Cap. 40, f° 168.

78. Ranke, Geschichten, s. 140, ref. to Çurita.

79. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 26, f° 197.

80. Dumont, Corps Diplomatique, t. III, P. II, p. 444 ; Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 402 ; Aa. passim.

81. Ranke, ubi supra ; Çurita, ubi supra, Cap. 22, f° 192.

tents of the treaty, which he had learned already through his nuncio in France [82], and to ask his consent and assistance. Pope Alexander VI favorably heard their petition, allowed his captain general, Cesar de Borgia, to join the French troops on their way to Naples, and promised them all needed provisions and free passage through the territories of the Pontifical States [83].

On the 25th of June, 1501, when the French army was approaching Rome, the ambassadors of France and of Spain, the lords Roger de Agramont and Francisco de Rojas, presented themselves before the Pope, and requested him to accede to the treaty of Granada and to confirm it with his authority [84]. After a careful discussion the Pontiff issued, over his own signature and that of all the cardinals present in Rome, a lengthy bull, by which he deprived the disloyal and treasonable Frederic of the kingdom of Naples, and divided between the kings of France and of Spain the provinces and revenues of the Neapolitan State. The bull is dated the 25th of June, 1501 [85]; but it was placed in escrow with the cardinal of San Severino, until the two monarchs should have ratified, an agreement, which their envoys made with the Pope, three days later, in the presence of notaries public, and whose main object was a coalition against the Turks, while the partition of the Southern kingdom was set forth as a secondary matter. It was, in fact, a slight modification of the treaty of Granada, and was solemnly published in Rome on the next, or St. Peter's day [86].

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82. Çurita, ibid., Cap. 26, 29.

83. Çurita, ibid., Cap. 26; Nepi, Archiv. Communale, liber de Brevis, fo 20vo, 17 Junii, 1501.

84. Çurita, ibid., Cap. 29, 43.

85. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, fiis 270-284vo and 321, seqq., published by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1501, nis 53, seqq. We extract from the bull —as Document 165b—the statement of reasons why pope Alexander VI deprived Frederic of his kingdom.

86. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 150.

Its contents are as follows :

The contractants unanimously admit the necessity of making war on the Turks, especially since the king of Naples has associated with them and offered them an entrance into Italy. Consequently, the envoys of France and of Spain make a solemn compact with the Pope for the protection of the Pontifical States and of the Neapolitan kingdom, against the bloodthirsty Infidels and all their adherents. Then, the ambassadors request the Pontiff to grant to their kings the State of Naples, in conformity with a plan already mapped out by them, in compensation of the expenses they had to incur for the defence of holy faith. The Pontiff, therefore, declares Frederic to have forfeited all his rights and formally deprives him, as unworthy, of his kingdom, which he divides into two parts ; granting to Louis XII the cities of Naples and of Gaeta and the provinces of Labour [87] and of the Abruzzi, with the title of king of Naples and of Jerusalem ; and to the kings of Spain, the provinces of Calabria and of Apulia with the honorary designation of duke and duchess. To preserve peace among them he carefully partitioned also the revenues of the whole territory. The document closes with the Pontiff's promise to assist with all the means of his spiritual authority, and with that of the Kings, to exert all their power until the enemies and their accomplices, among whom the Colonna and the Savelli are mentioned, shall have been effectually reduced [88].

Several days before, the French troops had arrived before Rome and camped near Ponte Molle, at a place called Aqua Traversa, where the Romans, by order of the Pope, supplied them with provisions. On the 28th of June, they were invited to march through the city, and the Pontiff enjoyed to see them cross the bridge of Sant' Angelo, twelve thousand foot

87. Now Campania.

88. See Document 165a.

and two thousand horse, with their artillery and carriages. The French captain general, lord d'Aubigny, remained several hours with the Pope, and departed the following day for Naples [89].

The duke of Valentinois, Cesar de Borgia, was besieging Piombino, when he was solicited by d'Aubigny to lend him assistance in the conquest of Naples [90]. He answered the request by moving his troops towards Rome. He himself secretly entered the city on the 17th of June, and left it with his men, on the 9th of July, to join the French army [91].

It did not take long for the allied kings of France and of Spain to have in their power the Neapolitan kingdom. On the 26th of July, the Pope received the news that Cesar de Borgia captured the city of Capua ; and already ten or twelve days before, he had been informed that Aversa, Nola and almost every other place had been occupied by the French, while the Spanish flag was waving in Calabria and Apulia [92].

Capua had been valiantly defended by Fabricius Colonna and its Aragonese garrison, that had made a successful sortie and killed many of the besiegers. This had exasperated the brutal instincts of the French and other common soldiers, who, at a time of negotiations for the surrender of the city, surprised their enemies and rushed through the breached walls, without any command and in spite of their commanders [93] ; in particular, of Cesar de Borgia, who shouted his restraining orders in vain [94]. They made the capture of Capua famous in history, for the horrible butchery of its defenders and citizens of every rank and age, and for the bestial lewdness perpetrated even upon the virgins consecrated to God.

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89. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 146, seqq.
90. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 249.
91. Burchard, ubi supra, pp. 144, 151.
92. Id. Ibid., p. 152.
93. Brandolinus Lippus, ap. Römische Quartalschr., Bd. II, s. 197.
94. Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 239.

Francesco Guicciardini, unjust to the Borgias on every occasion, writes in Florence, thirty years later, the incredible story admitted by not one later historian, that some of the Capuan women were afterwards sold for a trifle in Rome ; and it was told, " divulgossi ", he adds, that many of those victims, escaped from the first onset, had sought refuge in a tower, where the duke of Valentinois carefully inspected them and kept for himself forty of the most beautiful [95]. The calumny is evident ; yet, late writers like Gregorovius [96], Prescott [97] and a few others improve their original by converting his rumor into a positive fact.

The contemporaries, however : A codex of the National Archives of Naples, and Capaccio, in his Vita del Gran Capitano [98], Biagio Buonaccorsi [99], Sigismondo dei Conti [100], Ralph Brandolinus Lippus [101] : all speak of or describe the horrors of Capua's ruin, but not one of them has a word of Guicciardini's popular reports. Burchard, who is not scrupulous in telling similar stories, does not hint at the young women, either sold in Rome or enslaved by the duke of Valentinois [102]. Alvisi remarks [103] that nothing of the slander is to be found in the chronicles of the time, and that even a historian of Capua, F. Granata, who must have read the descriptions of the sack of Capua, written by Nicholas Pelegrimo and others of its inhabitants, has only Guicciardini to refer to, when relating the alleged particulars.

At the loss of Capua, king Frederic retired to the Castellum Novum of Naples, where he bargained with d'Aubigny, at the end of the month of July, to deliver to him his capital,

95. Storia d'Italia, vol. II, Lib. V, p. 23.
96. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 452, n. 1.
97. Ferdinand and Isabella, vol III. Part. II, Ch. X, p. 22.
98. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, t. II, p. 455.
99. Diario de' successi piu importanti, p. 46.
100. Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 239.
101. Ap. Römische Quartalschr., Bd. II, s. 197.
102. Diarum, t. III, p. 153.
103. Cesare Borgia, p. 210.

Gaeta, and all the fortresses of the French portion of his kingdom for a free abode of the next six months on the island of Ischia [104]. On the 6th of September, 1501, he committed himself to the mercy of his conqueror, and repaired to France, where Louis XII gave him the county of Anjou with a yearly pension of thirty thousand ducats [105]. He died in Tours on the 9th of November, 1504. Frederic's oldest son, Ferdinand, was, through perjury of Consalvo Fernandez, sent a prisoner to Spain, where he died early in life [106].

After entering into confederation with the kings of Spain and of France and dividing among them the kingdom of Naples, pope Alexander VI commenced further negotiations with Louis XII, to obtain from him the confirmation of his nephews, " nepveuz et parens ", in the titles and estates which they possessed in the French portion of the kingdom, in consideration of the great services rendered by the duke of Valentinois and the action of the Pontiff in sending him and his brother, the prince of Squillace, with six hundred men-at-arms, to the assistance of the French.

The Pope promises to liberality remit, with the consent of the Sacred College, the whole tribute from the French part of the kingdom and all dues for its investiture.

He objects to the cruelty of d'Aubigny at Monte Fortino and other places of the Colonna and Savelli, already taken possession of by the Pope himself.

He expects that d'Aubigny will never take the said barons into the King's army nor admit them into any territory or place subject to him, but treat them like his rebels, as it was stipulated in their mutual league and confederation ; and the

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104. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 46, f° 118; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 154.

105. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Maximiliana, 1502, Sept. 4 ; Becchetti, Ult. Quattro Seculi, t. VI, p. 317.

106. Çurita, ubi supra, Cap. 58, f° 231vo.

Pontiff will also act in a similar manner towards the rebellious barons of the kingdom of Naples [107].

Since Cesar de Borgia had left the siege of Piombino on the point of surrender, to accompany the French army, the Pope desired that, at their return from the Neapolitan expedition, the French should, reciprocally, assist him in capturing that city [108].

Finally, the Pontiff claimed the restitution of the places taken by d'Aubigny, as it were from the Colonna and the Savelli, but already belonging to the Church and situate within the boundaries of the Pontifical States [109].

That the king of France granted the wishes of pope Alexander VI, we may derive from the fact that the latter actually exonerated him from paying the annual census of the Neapolitan kingdom and the fees of investiture, by a bull of the 27th of August, 1501 [110]; but Louis XII was not needed any longer to conquer Piombino, that surrendered to the papal condottieri on the 3d of the following September.

Brandolinus Lippus tells us [111] that the French, after the rapid conquest of their portion of the kingdom, abandoned themselves to their usual intemperance and immorality; but they were, before long, aroused from their indolent sensualities by the attacks of the Spaniards upon the provinces of the Capitanata and of the Basilicata, which had not been mentioned in the treaty of Granada nor in the consequent partition made by the Pope. War between the allied kings

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107. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Collection Dupuy 28, f° 17; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Osterr. 1501, 28 Juny.

108. From this request of the Pope it becomes more evident that neither he nor Cesar was by any treaty bound to help Louis XII in his conquest of Naples.

109. See document, 46, in vol. I.

110. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI, Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 344.

111. Ap. Römische Quartalschr., Bd. II, s. 202.

soon followed and in vain did pope Alexander VI try to restore peace among them [112]. The French were, finally, worsted and lost their share of the conquest. On the 3d of July, 1510, pope Julius II granted to Ferdinand of Spain the whole kingdom of Naples [113], which remained a Spanish province for more than two centuries [114].

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112. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 82.
113. Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 823, fo 2vo.
114. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 656.

CHAPTER IX.

War on some Roman barons.

ARTICLE I. — ALEXANDER VI AT FIRST COMPELLED TO TOLERATE THE NOBLEMEN OF HIS STATES.

Foreign monarchs, especially Ferdinand I of Naples and the king of France, Charles VIII, not to speak of the Sultan of the Turks, have caused to Pope Alexander VI much anxiety and suffering. But there was in his own States a score of princes, his vassals, who, one after another, left him hardly a day of rest, from the beginning of his reign to its end. These were the ancient baronial families in the neighborhood of Rome, and the lords of papal cities and territories, of which they had, in recent times, been named, under certain conditions, as Vicars in temporal affairs of the Supreme Pontiffs, or of which they had assumed the mastery, without any legitimate title [1], through violence and murder. During the first half of his administration, pope Alexander VI, short of money and of power, was compelled to tolerate their wicked conduct and to patiently endure their disloyalties and rebellious acts ; and, when, through prudence and statesmanship, he had grown able to perform his duties of a Sovereign, he was obliged to sacrifice his peace and spend his treasure, in order to bring them, by dint of arms, into subjection and innocuousness.

By resolutely fulfilling the requirements of justice towards himself and towards the common people entrusted to his care, he exposed himself to the undying hatred of a number

1. Commines, Memoires, vol. I, Liv. V, Ch. XVIII, p. 348.

of prominent and noble families, that would, as soon as restored to their former position, take revenge on his memory, by directing their paid historiographers, diarists and poets to bring against him the stinging charge of immorality, and to find fault with him in all that he did or suffered. Their campaign of vengeance and slander against their chastiser, now silent in his grave, during the reign of a successor who never was his friend, had its effect upon all later history ; and, for centuries, the maligned Pontiff has undergone the loss of a fair name, as a penalty for his great work of delivering the Pontifical States from their most dangerous class of people, and of rendering the papal government stronger and more beneficial than it ever was before [2].

The Roman barons and the lords of papal cities despised any useful employment. Their recreation was hunting ; and war, either in the pay of other princes or for the satisfaction of their own ambition, was their regular occupation.

We have seen the Colonna and the Savelli, at the head of their troops, in the service of king Charles VIII, in the Southern kingdom, in spite of their suzerain, or even fighting the Pope in Ostia and at the very gates of Rome. The Orsini, soon after, followed their example of disloyalty, recruiting soldiers not only in their feudal tenures but in Rome itself, to oppose them to the reenforcements sent by the Pontiff to Alfonso II of Naples.

When, because of treachery, the Neapolitan king, Frederic, transferred to the Colonna the fiefs of the Orsini, Tagliacozzo and Alba in the Abruzzi, strife between the two rival houses arose again within the Pontifical States. Pope Alexander VI imposed a truce, but his orders were disregarded by Giacomo dei Conti, an ally of the Orsini [3], who surprised the Colonnese fort of Torre Mattia. The loss of

2. Cfr. Machiavelli, Istor. Fiorent., Lib. I, Cap. XXXIX, p. 63.

3. Archiv. Vatic., Varia Politicorum, Cod. LV, f° 311.

this place provoked the Colonna and the Savelli to attack and capture several towns and castles of the Orsini, who, in turn, gathered all their forces against their inveterate antagonists, and called to their assistance Bartholomew d'Alviano, the Baglioni of Perugia, the Vitelli of Citta di Castello and the Saccoccia of Spoleto. A bloody war ensued in the beginning of the year 1498, in which a dozen towns were leveled to the ground and large tracts of land in the neighborhood of Rome were laid waste.

After the defeat of the Orsini at Monticelli, on the 12th of April, 1498, the Pope, to save from ruin the best provinces of the Church, ordered the Colonna to stop hostilities ; but they continued until the end of June, capturing and burning down several more Orsini castles and towns. In July, pope Alexander VI gathered some troops at one of the gates of the City, in order to enforce his commands ; but, when the rival parties were at the siege of Palombara, the seat of the Savelli, both the Colonna and the Orsini factions interpreted the move of their Sovereign as a preparation to fall upon them, after they should be sufficiently weakened by mutual slaughter, and to submit them to his authority. They, therefore, suddenly made peace, " come fratelli ", like brothers [4].

This peace was a veiled alliance against the Pontiff, who, a few days later, was able to read, posted on the doors of his library, these verses : Hostile armies have been united in firm bonds... Kill the ox [5] that devastates the Italian country ; tear away its savage horns, and let the Tiber drown its calves. May the ox fall a victim to the infernal Jove [6].

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4. Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. IV, Cap. I, p. 244 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, pp. 125-127 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, pp. 376, 377.

5. The Pope's armorial emblem.

6. ...Firmaque discordes acies [concordia junxit.
.....
Ausonios fines vastantem [caedite taurum,
Cornua mostrifero vellite tur- [va bovi.

He understood their significance, and ordered eight hundred men on foot to guard his palace, and, for greater security, he retired to the castle of Sant' Angelo [7].

The Farnese, allied to the Pontiff's relatives, were the only baronial family that never went to war against pope Alexander VI.

It would be long merely to sketch the career of the lords or Vicars " in temporalibus " of papal cities, during the pontificate of Alexander VI, but we may state that nearly all of them passed a great portion of their time in camps and on battlefields, to increase their territory, to prevent the extension of their neighbors' dominion, to secure the impunity of their disloyalties and other crimes, or to attain complete independence from their sovereign lord, the Pope. They eagerly took part in the quarrels of their fellow-lords, and were on frequent occasions the principal actors in the factions and feuds that desolated so many free cities of the provinces of the Church. It is no wonder, if the time shortly before and after the pontificate of Alexander VI and of his reign in particular, was a stormy period of lawlessness, murder and destruction.

When the noble lords had no personal interests to promote or wrongs to revenge, they either hired out, as condottieri, to fight for pay and plunder, indifferently for or against any one, against the Pope as readily as for him ; or they whiled away their leisure in idleness, vice and crime. A number of them were bastards and the courts of all were schools of corruption for their subjects [8]. Cruelty was the companion of their immorality, as it appears from the murder of the

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Merge, Tyber, vitulos animo-
[sas ultor in undas.
Bos cadat inferno victima magna Jovi : Malipiero, Annal. Venet., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 508.

7. Idem, ibid. and p. 491 ; Curita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando. Lib. III, Cap. 27, fo 149vo.

8. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 152 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 84-86.

merciless Jerome Riario of Forli and of Galeotto Manfredi of Faenza [9], from the treacherous butchery perpetrated by Carlo Barciglia, and the brutal revenge of the incestuous Gianpaolo Baglione [10]. The government of Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, although despotic, was mild ; but not so, that of his children, naturally cruel and ferocious, as it is shown by the disastrous end of the Malvezzi and the Mariscotti, the terror of which never left the memory of any citizen of Bologna [11]. The vengeance taken by Catherine Sforza, governess of Forli, on the suspects of the murder of her first, and especially of her second, husband, and on their small children, was no less frightful and revolting [12].

The condition of the lordly tyrants' common people was most pitiable [13]. On any slight occasion they were killed and robbed. Their princes were poor, Machiavelli says, and, since they wanted to live as kings, were obliged to resort to theft, which they did in various ways. Among other dishonest acts, they made laws forbidding certain harmless practices ; then they were the first to set the example of nonobservance, nor did they punish the transgressors, until they saw that many were incurring the imposed penalty ; and then they commenced the prosecutions, not to sustain the law, but to collect the fines. Hence it happened that the people became poor, and the ones thus impoverished contrived similar means to get the best of such as had less power than they had themselves. Thus Machiavelli, a witness " de visu " [14]. In spite of the papal bull " in Caena Domini " [15], the avaricious princes constantly exacted new im-

9. Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 361.
10. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. IX, p. 559 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 468.
11. Gozzadini, ubi supra.
12. Bonoloi, Istorie di Forli, p. 272.
13. Commines, Memoires, t. I. Liv. V, Ch. XVIII, p. 348.
14. Ap. Archiv. della Soc. Roman. di Storia patria, vol. IV, p. 85.
15. See Document 94, § 94.

posts and contributions. While the Pope's secular revenues actually amounted to but one hundred and twenty-one thousand ducats, the relatively insignificant portions of the Pontifical States, for instance, the districts of Imola and Forli brought thirty thousand to the Riarios or to Catherine Sforza; Urbino, fifty thousand to Guidobaldo di Montefeltro ; Pesaro, fifteen thousand to Giovanni Sforza, and the other Vicariates or papal fiefs yielded proportionate enormous sums to their heartless masters.

Not only did the vassals of the Pontiff by cunning and extortion lay hands on the savings of their subjects, but some of them had recourse to open violence, and were not ashamed of being robbers and highwaymen [16], in company of the bandits whom they received and protected in their territories. The ambassadors of the duke of Burgundy were obliged to hire an escort on their way to Rome ; and, in the absence of professional robbers, they were despoiled by their own safeguard [17]. We may here recall to mind the highway robberies of Giovanni della Rovere, lord of Senigallia. Not without good reasons did pope Alexander VI hold responsible for acts of brigandages the lords of the territories where they had taken place [18].

Although most exacting in regard to their subjects, the papal feudatories neglected or refused to pay to their suzerain the small tribute or census [19], on the express condition of which they had obtained their possessions. Demands of payment from the apostolic treasury were met with all kinds of excuses, and granted only to secure new privileges [20]. On the 18th of December, 1496, pope Alexander VI threatened

16. Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 355.
17. Christophe, ibid. ; Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 11.
18. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 39.
19. Pesaro was to pay 750 ducats ; Urbino, 1400, and Forli with Imola, 1300.
20. Brosch, Gesch. des Kirchenstaates, Bd. I, s. 9 ; Gottlob, Aus der Camera, s. 223.

with excommunication and deprivation of their offices all lords and princes of whatever dignity, rank or preeminence they might be, unless they should fulfill their obligation of paying their stipulated yearly tribute [21]; but his bulls, though repeated, had no effect upon them, and they practically challenged his power to dispossess them [22].

The church domain was in a state of confusion and lawlessness in the hands of the disloyal vassals and of their accomplices, whose tyranny and misdeeds the common people had to endure. The sovereign, pope Alexander VI, harassed during the first years of his reign, by the kings of Naples and of France, was simply incapable of preventing or punishing the evildoers ; but was compelled to tolerate their wicked conduct, and even to bestow favors upon them, in order to mitigate their ill will, and to obtain their assistance, when his powerless authority would be in danger, or to win their allegiance by signal rewards for services rendered to him.

On the 13th of February, 1493, he ordered the town of Fagiole and other places to be restored to cardinal Savelli and to his brothers, Marianus and Baptist, and help to be given them towards the reconstruction of the fortress of Fagiole [23].

We could not but admire the magnanimity with which the Pontiff treated Gentil Virginio Orsini when, on the 17th of August, 1493, he allowed him to retain the territories which he had invalidly acquired from Francesco Cibo, and exempted him from the census and other charges formerly attached to those fiefs. Even the Pope's enemy, the king of Naples thanked him for his generosity.

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21. Bullarium Privilegiorum, t. III, p. 238.
22. Gottlob, ibid.
23. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull., an. VII, VIII, t. LII. Regest. 823, f° 177.

On the 28th of October, 1493, pope Alexander VI gave to Nicholas Orsini, his captain general, count of Pitigliano, the castle of Monte Guidonti or Viconti [24].

On October the 31st, 1493, the bestowed upon Francisco Orsini, duke of Gravina, the castles of Tulphanova, Vallis Marina, Monte Castaneo and Ferrata [25].

On the 8th of April, 1494, he granted to the children of Jerome Riario or to their mother Catherine Sforza, governess of Forli and Imola, the Vicariate of the castle of San Mauro [26].

Generosity was a means to which the Pontiff often resorted during the whole of his pontificate to try and secure the loyalty of the noblemen of his States and to gain their good will.

On the 16th of October, 1501, he named Johannes Paulus Orsini as his Vicar "in temporalibus" of the castles of Aspera, Montedasula, Cantalupi, Rochetta, Forani, Cretuni and Staziani, of which he had deprived several rebellious Savelli barons [27].

On the same day he gave to Julius Orsini the town of Palumbara with its fortress and the castles of Chiodati, Podii, Moiani, Morriconi, Montis Albani, Tarani, Podii and Montisboni, which he had taken from other rebels of the Savelli family [28].

Even to Vitellozzo Vitelli of Citta di Castello he granted, on the 1st of May 1502, the castle of Montone, with the title of a count [29]; and at the same time he gave him the castle of Citerna to govern [30].

All these concessions indicate that pope Alexander VI

24. Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 2504, P. II, f° 279vo; Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 1045, f° 209vo.
25. Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 2504, P. II, f° 266vo.
26. Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 2504, P. 2, f° 280.
27. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. VIII ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868, f° 183.
28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secretar., an. VIII ad XI, Lib. II, Regest. 868, f° 186.
29. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., ibid., p. 177.
30. Ibid., f° 180.

meant well with his vassals. There is, however, one of his acts of that same nature, which manifests more brightly than others his kind and merciful heart, assuaging the spirit of justice that habitually guided his conduct. Not in all his life do we find an instance of a man who acknowledged his fault and was punished by him ; but this special act of clemency proves that nothing was unpardonable to him. Of all his subjects not one had maltreated him worse than Giovanni della Rovere, the perfect of Rome and lord of Senigallia. He had openly sided with his enemies, incarcerated some of his soldiers and their captain, a relative of the Pope ; he had robbed him of forty thousand ducats and other valuables, and industriously endeavored to calumniate him by representing him as an ally of the Turks ; and yet, no sooner did Giovanni allow the request of his pardon to be made, than the Pontiff granted to him, on the 18th of November, 1499, the forgiveness of all his crimes, let him keep the proceeds of his brigandage and restored to him all his forfeited titles and feudal possessions. The document relating this fact is a glorious memorial of the mercy of pope Alexander VI [31].

The Pontiff made use of still another means to conciliate the good will of the barons and temporal Vicars of the Pontifical States, and to strengthen the ties of their loyalty to him, by accepting their offer of services, as condottieri or captains of his army, and paying them well and promptly the price of their engagements. We also saw the records of several generous donations of money which he made to them. Thus, for instance, he gave to Fabricius Colonna, as a pure gift, twelve hundred and fifty florins, on the 22d of December, 1496 ; to the brothers Antonello, Eusebio and Ludovico Savelli the sum of seven hundred and fifty gold florins, on the 8th of February, 1497 ; and four hundred to Troylus Savelli,

31. See Document 166.

on the following 11th [32]. Likewise, on the 26th of September, 1500, he donated five hundred ducats to Paulus Orsini [33].

Having not paid sufficient attention to this particular subject at the time of our researches, we could not now offer an accurate list of the condottieri who served in the papal army ; but, among a greater number of them, we have noticed [34] the following :

Nicholas Orsini, count of Pitigliano, who was the Captain General of the papal troops in the years 1492, 1493 and 1494.

John Baptist dei Conti, a captain in 1493, 1494, 1495, 1498 and 1499.

Anthony dei Conti, son of Cesar, in 1495.

Angelus Farnese, in 1493, 1494.

Guidobaldo de Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, in 1493, 1494, 1496.

Ursinus Orsini, in 1492, 1493, 1494.

Virginio Orsini, in 1494.

Giangiordano Orsini, in 1494, 1498, 1499.

Julius Orsini, in 1493, 1494, 1495, 1498, 1499, 1501, 1502.

Aldobrandinus Orsini, in 1497, 1498.

Paulus Orsini, in 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502.

Carlo Orsini, in 1494, 1500, 1501.

Franciscus Orsini, duke of Gravina, in 1501, 1502.

Jacopo IV d'Appiano, lord of Piombino, in 1494. 1497, 1498.

Franciscus Colonna, in 1494, 1496.

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32. Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol 528, at the dates.

33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Diversa Cam., 1497-1501, Lib. IIII. Armar. 29, no. 53, fo 161vo.

34. In Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, at the dates ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXII, 242, Cap. : Ductores Militum sub Alexandro VI ; Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1494, fiis 31, 44vo, 45, 46vo, 47vo, 76vo, 90vo, 99, 100, 102.

Prospero Colonna, in 1494.

Fabricius Colonna, in 1496.

Marianus Savelli, in 1493, 1494, 1495.

Antonellus Savelli, in 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497.

Eusebio Savelli, in 1496, 1497.

Ludovico Savelli, in 1496, 1497.

Troylus Savelli, in 1496, 1497.

Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, in 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498.

Nicholas Gaetani, in 1493, 1494.

Gulielmus Gaetani, in 1494, 1495.

Jacobus Gaetani.

Pandulpho Malatesta, lord of Rimini, in 1493, 1494, 1496.

Bartholomew d'Alviano, in 1495.

Astore Baglioni, lord of Perugia, in 1499, 1500.

Hannibal da Varano, lord of Camerino, in 1496.

Venantius da Varano, in 1496, 1497.

Hercules Bentivoglio, lord of Bologna, in 1497, 1498, 1499.

Vitellozo Vitelli, lord of Citta di Castello, in 1500, 1501, 1502.

And many more noblemen of the Pontifical States.

The large sums of money which the Pontiff continually paid to the condottieri or captains of his army were highly appreciated by their recipients and, during the time of their service, generally saved him from the attacks of his vassals ; but neither these stipulated payments nor the Pope's liberal donations and grants of titles and territories effected any change in their proud spirit of absolute independence from him, nor alleviated the burdens of the unfortunate people obliged to live under their tyranny.

Meanwhile, pope Alexander VI was aware of his duty to preserve unimpaired his legitimate authority and to transmit

to his successors the provinces of the Roman church, in their integrity, and not cut up into a number of small, reciprocally hostile States, as he found them to be. He knew that, as a sovereign, he owed to the common people, whom he always loved, a just and peaceful administration and assistance in their needs. He sorely felt his impotence to fulfill his obligations, and longed for the time that he would be able to do justice to both the oppressors and the oppressed. And who could blame Sixtus IV, Alexander VI or any other Pope of that period, for having tried to redeem their States from actual anarchy ? as Leonii justly asks [35].

The principal thought of his reign was how he could, in Rome and in the provinces, suppress the power of the nobility, equally opposed to the peace of the subjects and to the authority of the Sovereign [36]. He carefully watched every internal and foreign circumstance that might offer him a favorable occasion of resorting to force, in order to reduce or bring to an end the power of his disloyal and pernicious feudatories.

Pope Alexander VI availed himself of his rights to assistance from his confederates of the Holy League, in marking his first armed vindication of his sovereign authority, when, in the year 1496, he attacked the most hostile and most powerful family of his States, the Orsini. He, the kings of Spain and the dukes of Milan and of Venice were successfully helping Ferdinand II of Naples, to drive the French troops out of his kingdom. The sorely pressed general, de Montpensier, begged in vain for aid from France, in the Fall of the year 1495 ; but king Charles VIII hired the papal vassals of Citta di Castello, Camillo and Vitellozzo Vitelli and, through them, won over to his side Gentil Virginio and other

35. Vita di Bartholomeo d'Alviano, p. 32.

36. Civiltà Cattol. Seri. 9 vol. VII, p. 666.

members of the Orsini house, to oppose them to the troops of the Holy League in the Southern kingdom. The rich pay offered to them, twelve thousand ducats [37], and especially their jealousy at the preferments granted, to their disadvantage, by Ferdinand II to their inveterate rivals, the Colonna, had been sufficient grounds to let the Orsini forget their duties towards their sovereign, the Pope, to defy the Holy League and to assist a foreign prince in ravaging their native country.

ARTICLE II. — FIRST WAR ON THE ORSINI.

When the Pontiff learned of their designs, he sent an envoy to Virginio, to remind him of his obligations as a vassal of the Church, and to offer him a lucrative military engagement and other honorable conditions, in his own name, and in the name of the dukes of Milan and of Venice, in order to win him over again to the cause of Italy ; but the proud baron stubbornly refused the papal proposals. The Pope then tried to make him change his mind through the intervention of several private persons ; yet, in vain. After that, he sent his former envoy to him again, together with the ambassadors of all the confederates of the Holy League, to renew his first advances ; but the rebel remained obdurate, and daringly gathered troops in the Pontifical States for the assistance of the French. Untired in his efforts to prevent the evils resulting from the union of the Orsini with Charles VIII, the Pope, further still, served on them a monitorial brief, by which he forbade them, under the most severe spiritual and temporal penalties, to enter the kingdom of Naples or to make any attempt against it. The ambassadors of the al-

37. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 121.

lied powers also threatened them in the name of their masters, should they disobey their Sovereign. But Virginio was and remained obstinate, and even coarsely insulted the Pontiff and refused to accept his letter. He continued to enlist more soldiers from among the papal subjects, and personnally went through the territories of the Church and joined the French troops in the Southern kingdom. On this hostile march he was accompanied by his son, Giangiordano ; his brother-in-law, Bartholomew d'Alviano ; his cousins, Paulus and Franciotto Orsini, afterwards a cardinal; the son of Latin Orsini, the lords of Citta di Castello, Camillo and Paolo Vitelli, Anthony dei Conti, Baglione of Perugia and the prefect of Rome, Giovanni della Rovere [38].

At last, on the 1st of June, 1496, pope Alexander VI issued his bull of excommunication of the Orsini and their adherents, declared them rebels and confiscated to the papal treasury all their fiefs and possessions [39].

The reenforcements of the Orsini and of the Vitelli retarded but did not stop the progress of the confederates against the French. The duke of Urbino, in the pay of Venice, conquered and despoiled, in the province of the Abruzzi, the troops of Giangiordano Orsini and of Bartholomew d'Alviano, and sent their leaders as prisoners to Naples[40]. The French viceroy, de Montpensier, brought the war to an end, by his treaty of surrender to the Spanish captain, Consalvo Fernandez, in Atella, on the 28th of July, 1496. He delivered Virginio, Giangiordano, Paul and the other Orsini, together with Bartholomew d'Alviano, as hostages, into the hands of king Ferdinand, who imprisoned them all in the

38. Docum. 167 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. II. Cap. 30, f° 97 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 121 ; Atti et Memor., Moden., t. IV, p. 365.

39. See Document 167.

40. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 122 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 370 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 391.

Neapolitan fortress del Ovo ; while Paolo Vitelli was confided to the custody of the Venetian captain, the marquis of Mantua, and by him was soon granted his liberty, to the great dissatisfaction of the king of Naples. Bartholomew d'Alviano escaped from prison [41].

King Ferdinand II had pledged his word that, upon the final surrender of the French, he would restore to liberty Virginio Orsini and the other hostages and allow them to return to their estates ; yet, he kept them as prisoners. According to Çurita, he committed this act of faithlessness, under the influence of the Pope who, having shortly before deprived the Orsini of all their possessions, manifested his displeasure at the King's promise, which he considered as invalid and as an act of treachery against himself, Ferdinand's suzerain and confederate, whose troops had co-operated towards their actual captivity. The King ought not to permit them to go now and offer armed resistence to the execution of the papal sentence. He, on the contrary, required, Çurita adds, that, being his rebel subjects, the prisoners should, under good guard, be delivered to him [42].

Later historians, hostile to pope Alexander VI, generally assert that the Orsini remained prisoners, at the Pontiff's command [43]. The contemporary cardinal Juliano Caesarini, however, clearly states that the release of Paolo Vitelli caused dissension between the marquis of Mantua and the king of Naples, who, he says, wanted to despoil Paolo of his liberty as well as the Orsini [44]. Of the alleged interference of the Pope he has not a word to say. Leonii also said of late : " The King was so embittered by the ingratitude of Virginio,

41. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. II, Cap. 30, f° 97; Card. Cæsarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII 48, post f^m. 24.

42. Çurita, ubi supra.

43. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 351.

44. Ut Ursinos Rex ita et Vitellium voluit libertate expoliare.

that he never gave him freedom again, but let him die in prison " [45].

No accusation was ever too incredible not to be made against pope Alexander VI. Virginio Orsini died a prisoner on the 18th of January, 1496 [46]. Guicciardini [47] and Gregorovius mention poison, yet, without alluding to the Pope ; but Sansovino [48] charges the Pontiff with his death, and offers, as proof, the story of an imaginary young page, " picciolo fanciulletto ", who, long after, told Nicholas Orsini, that the Pope had ordered him, one evening, to fetch pen and paper, and to hold the candle, while he — unconcerned about the boy's presence — wrote to king Ferdinand II, to do away with Virginio Orsini, or to remember that he, his suzerain, could depose him from his throne ! No comment is needed here.

The circumstances were exceptionally favorable for the Pontiff to attempt the execution of his sentence of the 1st of June against his rebels, the Orsini and their accomplices. Their troops were defeated and dispersed in the kingdom of Naples, and most of their leaders confined in its prisons ; while, in consequence of the surrender of de Montpensier in Atella, the captains and soldiers of the Holy League, having accomplished their task, could now be withdrawn from Southern Italy, to further punish the italian helpmates of the French invaders, the rebels of the Pontifical States. The papal captain, Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, and the duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, common condottiere of the Pope and of the dukes of Milan and of Venice,

45. Vita di Bartolomeo d'Alviano, p. 31.
46. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 371.
47. Storia d'Italia, Lib. III, Cap. V, p. 221.
48. Casa Orsina, p. 124vo.

and most of the Colonna barons had returned and were ready to do the bidding of the Pontiff.

On the 27th of October, 1496, pope Alexander VI sent forth his army, under the chief command of his nephew, the duke of Gandia, against the territories of the Orsini. Under Article II of the VIIth Chapter of our 1st Volume, when drawing a sketch of the life of Giovanni de Borgia, we have given a compendium of the feats of arms, which took place during this war, and here it may suffice to recall to mind that, after a three months' campaign, all the fortified places and castles of the Orsini, with the exception of Bracciano, had fallen before the onslaughts of the papal and confederate forces. Bracciano itself was in danger of capture, when Julius and Carlo Orsini, Virginio's illegitimate son, and Vitellozzo Vitelli hurriedly gathered an army in Florence and in various disloyal cities of the dominion of the Church, went to the relief of the Orsini capital, and, together with its defender, Bartholomew d'Alviano, met, on the 24th of January, 1497, the papal troops, between Bassano and Suriano, and after a battle, dubious at first, inflicted a severe defeat upon them.

Historians hostile to pope Alexander VI have greatly exaggerated the importance of this Orsini triumph. Pastor tells us [49] that the papal army was totally broken up, that the Orsini were again the lords of the Roman Campagna and that Alexander was in a hurry to make peace. The facts, however, are that the fugitives were in Rome, after a couple of days, in battle order again, and their number was considerably increased [50]; that the Pontiff required at once reenforcements from his own States [51], and especially from

49. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 352, 353.

50. Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 171.

51. Document of the 20th of January 1497, ap. Fumi, Alessandro VI in Orvieto, p. 89.

his confederates ; while garrisons of the Holy League were holding still several fortresses of the victorious barons [52], who were prudently satisfied with keeping on the defensive, and readily accepted the conditions of peace, as soon as dictated to them. The Pope was rather opposed to a treaty, but, being appeased by the intercession of the king of Spain and of the interested Seigniory of Venice [53], he finally yielded to the arguments and entreaties of the cardinals Sanseverino and Caraffa.

Following were the conditions of peace, according to Guicciardini [54], Domenico Malipiero [55] and Sansovino [56].

1st. The Orsini were allowed to finish their engagement as condottieri of king Charles VIII, provided they should not take up arms against the Pontiff [57].

2d. As penalty for their rebellion, the Orsini were to pay into the papal treasury the sum of, as Sansovino says, thirty-five thousand, or, according to Guicciardini, fifty thousand florins ; but we have seen that the real amount was seventy thousand gold ducats [58]. Thirty thousand were payable at once, and the Pope kept possession of Cervetri, and Anguillara and a few more places, such as Galera and Viani [59], as securities for the deferred payments.

3d. The Pontiff was to procure the release from prison to Giangiordano, Paulus and the other Orsini, still detained by the king of Naples ; and, reciprocally, the Orsini were to

52. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. II, Cap. 42, fo 112vo ; Leonii, Bartholomeo d'Alviano, p. 40.

53. Çurita, ubi supra ; De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 390.

54. Storia d'Ital., Lib. III, Cap. V, pp. 220, 221.

55. Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 484.

56. Casa Orsina, p. 124.

57. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, t. VII, s. 391, overlooks this important proviso.

58. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad X, Lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 464. Jovius rightly mentions the seventy thousand ducats, but misapplies them to the ransom of the duke of Urbino : Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 184, n. 41.

set at liberty all soldiers made prisoners at the battle of Suriano ; with the exception of the duke of Urbino, who paid for his liberation the sum of forty thousand ducats.

4th. The Pope was to restore to the Orsini all their possessions lost in the late war, except the castle of Isola [60].

Gregorovius was evidently in an optimistic mood when he wrote [61] that the victorious Orsini wrested from the Pope most favorable terms of peace.

How little the Orsini were pleased with those terms and how little they observed them appears from their next subsequent actions. They did not commit any public act of hostility against the Pope but neither did they conceal their ill will towards the Borgias. On the 14th of June, 1497, they treacherously assassinated the papal Captain General, the duke of Gandia ; and they were at once suspected of the crime, for Scalona wrote on the 16th, that the misdeed must have been planned, if not executed, by such as have long teeth ; and, in the consistory of the 19th, the Spanish ambassador, to defend from suspicion cardinal Ascanio Sforza, protested that the cardinal was not the head of the Orsini faction [62].

Manfredi, the ambassador of Ferrara, wrote from Florence on the 1st of September, 1497 [63] of the discovery of a plot in Ostia against the Pope, generally attributed to the Orsini, in consequence of which the castellan had been hanged from the walls of the fortress, and Manfredi expected a new papal expedition against the conspirators. The same ambassador wrote again to the duke of Ferrara, on the 22d of December

59. Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, Jan. 24 and 30, 1497.

60. Archiv. Vatic., ubi supra, Febr. 14th and April, 1497.

61. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 103.

62. Supra, vol. I, Ch. VII, Art. III.

63. Atti e Memor. Moden., t. IV, p. 390.

of the same year [64], that the Pope was speaking more openly than before of the Orsini being the murderers of the duke of Gandia ; and, therefore, it was thought, he says, that he intended to take revenge upon them. But the judicious Pontiff, who, in the beginning of the year had had sufficient evidence of the favorable dispositions of Spain and of Venice towards the Orsini, and even now complained of the favors done to them by the Venetian Seigniory, was convinced that it was better policy for him patiently to endure injury than to involve himself in costly and uncertain wars. He succeeded in avoiding any rupture with the insidious French condottieri, and bestowed upon cardinal John Baptist Orsini the Benedictine abbey of Stronconi in the diocese of Narni, on the 5th of October, 1497 [65], in order to gain the Orsini's good will.

His friendly relations with the king Louis XII procured a happy change in their conduct towards the Borgias. Several members of the baronial house : Giangiordano, Julius, Aldobrandinus and Paulus Orsini entered the papal service, as captains of his army, in the years 1498 and 1499, and assisted him in subduing others of his disloyal vassals. On the 8th of September, 1498, Paulus Orsini married his son, Fabio, to a niece of the Pope, Hieronyma, a sister of cardinal John de Borgia the younger [66], and, in December, 1500, Franciscus Orsini, duke of Gravina, came to Rome, to sue for the hand of Lucretia de Borgia [67].

64. Atti et Memor., ibid., p. 396.
65. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI Bullar., an. VII, tom. LI. Regest. 822, fo 82vo.
66. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 115.
67. Idem, ibid., s. 170.

ARTICLE III. — PUNISHMENT OF THE GAETANI.

The Gaetani barons were the first to be punished with the loss of their territories, for their misdeeds against their subjects. They owned nearly all the Southwestern part of the Latium province, between the Volsci mountains and the Tyrrhenian sea, besides large estates in the Neapolitan kingdom, where they filled most honorable positions [68]. Their principal seat was Sermoneta. Here were living, in the year 1486, the old baron, Honoratus II and his wife, Catherine Orsini ; their sons Anthony [69], Colle or Nicholas with his wife, Eleonora Orsini and their son Bernardino ; the prothonotary Giacomo and Gulielmo Gaetani [70].

What sort of a race they were appears from a letter of the old father, who wrote on the 31st of December, 1487, to the king of Naples, begging his protection, that he may be allowed to pass the few years that he may yet have to live, in security from the plots of his son and nephew, by whom he expects from one moment to another to be assassinated. After your Majesty shall have arrested them, he continues, I shall expose the many ways in which they have tried to deprive me of my States and of my life ; and if I do not prove my charges, let your Majesty punish me with death. The ill treatment of those profligates becomes no better, but worse every day ; if I am not on my guard, they will assail my person and have their wish, one of these days. I entreat you by the services that I have rendered and by the love of God, to keep them in custody, or else I cannot escape their snares, and I shall feel obliged to take the path of an exile.

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68. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 122.

69. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI, Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 351.

70. Cfr. Gregorovius, ubi supra. S. Angeli, Armar. 3, Caps I, no. 2.

The King took pity on him, apprehended his son, Anthony, and let him die in prison [71].

Honoratus died in the year 1490, and Nicholas Gaetani, in 1494 [72].

When Frederic, king of Naples, to resist the threatened attack of the French king, Louis XII, allied himself with the Turks, the Gaetani promised him their assistance, and, like their neighbors, probably received the Sultan's envoys [73]. Exasperated by their felony and other misdeeds, the Pope summoned to Rome, in the month of August, 1499, the joint-lords of Sermoneta, the prothonotary Giacomo and Gulielmo Gaetani, to answer before the supreme tribunal of the Roman court, the grievous charges brought against them. Instead of obeing, Gulielmo escaped to Mantua [74], and, in the beginning of the month of September, Giacomo was arrested in Rome and placed in the fortress of Sant' Angelo [75].

The tribunal before which the prothonotary appeared soon after, was composed of Pedro Isualles, archbishop of Reggio and governor of Rome, the vicepresident of the apostolic chamber, and Matthew, bishop of Nocera, who acted as judges ; and of the commissaries, the Doctors of Law, Julius de Hortiatis, a senator of Rome, and, in his absence, Lawrence de Arianis of Parma. The two brothers were condemned to the loss of their possessions, and Giacomo, in particular, was to be delivered to the secular arm of justice, and was finally condemned to imprisonment in the castle of Sant' Angelo. They had been found guilty of the crime of lese majesty and of many other most heinous deeds, so notorious and evident that they could not be concealed by any

71. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 394, ref. to the Modena Archives.
72. Gregorovius, ubi supra.
73. Cfr. Balan, ubi supra.
74. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 123.
75. Burchard, Diary, t. II, p. 563 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 423.

subterfuge. No appeal from the judgment was taken within legal time, and the case had become a " res adjudicata ". Then the Pope confirmed the judgment, confiscated their possessions, applying them to his treasury and took possession of them [76].

Two months later, on the 4th of February, 1500, the prothonotary wrote in his prison a protest against the decree of the tribunal. He admitted his fault, but pretended to have been punished beyond the limits of justice [77]. That, however, a just judgment had been rendered is evidenced by the unanimous consent of all the cardinals present in Rome, agreeing on the 9th of March, 1500, to the sale of the confiscated Gaetani castles and territories to the Pontiff's niece, Lucretia de Borgia [78].

After confirming the sentence of the tribunal, pope Alexander VI sent his troops to take possession of Sermoneta and of the other Gaetani towns. Gregorovius states that an assault was needed, as the people did not surrender without resistance. The son of Nicholas Gaetani, Bernardino, was, probably during the battle, killed by the soldiers of Cesar de Borgia [79] ; although Villari asserts [80], but without any authority or semblance of truth, that Cesar Borgia ordered him to be killed the following year, 1500.

Bernardino may have had some men to defend the family mansion, but it seems that the people of Sermoneta were tired of the rule of their masters ; for, as reported by Burchard [81], already in the beginning of September, 1499, a great number of them came all the way to Rome and solemnly

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76. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 564. See Document 168.
77. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 67.
78. Bibl. Vatic. Ottoboniana, Cod. 2504, P. 2, f° 287.
79. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 123 ; Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 429.
80. Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. III, p. 130, n. 3.
81. Diar., t. II, p. 564.

promised allegiance to the Pope, in the presence of the presidents of the apostolic chamber.

Renounced by his former subjects and despoiled of all earthly goods, Giacomo Gaetani passed dreary days in his Sant' Angelo dungeon, enough to undermine any man's constitution. Burchard relates [82]: "In the morning of Thursday, the 9th of July, 1500, died, "obiit", in the castle of Sant' Angelo the lord Giacomo of Sermoneta, a prothonotary of the apostolic See, who, at vespertime, was carried on a bier from the said castle, dressed in black, as he used to be, and covered with a mantle. He was accompanied by the household of the Most Reverend Lord cardinal Farnese [83], to the church of St. Bartholomew, into a hall, where, being uncovered, he was viewed by his mother and sisters and other persons; and afterwards he was buried in the same church. May he rest in peace!" Who, after reading this simple and candid report, would ever imagine that the man had been murdered, poisoned? And yet, such is the gratuitous conclusion of Gregorovius [84], although he is less positive in another passage [85], where he dilutes his story of poison, with a significent probably, "wahrscheinlich".

We should not wonder if shortly after the Pontiff's death, at the time of public hatred and revenge against him, a Raphael of Volterra should cast aside all doubt and simply affirm that Alexander VI killed Giacomo in his prison, and ordered the slaughter of the youthful son of Nicholas Gaetani [86]. To inspire more hatred of the pretended murderer, Jovius, another historian of that period, adds to his alleged victims one more Gaetani, Nicholas himself, who died half

82. Diar., t. III, p. 67.
83. The sister of the deceased, Giovanella Gaetani, was the cardinal's mother.
84. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 123.
85. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 429.
86. Anthropologia, Lib. XXII, p. 262.

a dozen years before [87]. Gregorovius [88] introduces a bull of pope Julius II, to prove that his predecessor, Alexander, acted unjustly towards the Gaetani ; but he succeeds only in showing that he did not pay attention to the relations of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere with pope Alexander VI, the time of whose defamation commenced with the promotion of that cardinal to the sovereign pontificate.

We should not neglect to notice how the Pontiff tempered justice with charity. On the 22[d] of April, 1502, while the Orsini neglected their destitute relative, pope Alexander VI ordered to be paid every month, till her death, the sum of fifteen ducats to his beloved daughter in Christ, Catherine Orsini, the widow of Honoratus Gaetani [89].

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87. Vita Consalvi, Lib. III. p. 273.

88. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII. s. 430, n. 2.

89. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1501-1503, Lib. V, Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 160.

CHAPTER X.

First wars in Romagna.

ARTICLE I. — CAPTURE OF IMOLA AND FORLI FROM CATHERINE SFORZA.

Pope Alexander VI had hardly finished punishing the Gaetani, in the South, when, relying on his friendly relations with king Louis XII, he availed himself of the conquest of Milan as affording him an occasion, to commence the chastisement of the tyrannical petty lords in the North of his States, and to execute the threats which he had long since and repeatedly made against them.

Whenever a prince, lord or papal Vicar in temporal affairs, received the investiture of his fief or office under the suzerainty of the Roman church, he took an oath to pay annually, on the eve of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, a stipulated tribute, called census, into the pontifical treasury. This payment was an essential condition of the title to his holdings ; but it was often neglected or altogether refused.

Already pope Innocent VIII had, on the 2d of May, 1492, admonished all feudatories of the Church, to discharge this duty, within a month after St. Peter's day, under penalty of deprivation of their fiefs [1].

Pope Alexander VI soon learned that the threat of his predecessor had been useless. After having given several friendly admonitions, he reminded the refractory vassals, on the 4th of May, 1496, of their solemn obligation to henceforth

1. Archiv. Cast. S. Angeli, Arm. 3, Caps 1, no. 2b ; Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 1045, f° 187.

pay all their dues, at the usual time, under pain of excommunication and privation of their territories and offices. He notified them that he was now giving orders to the presidents and clerics of his treasury, to proceed against all defaults of payments, and to declare forfeited their feudal possessions [2].

Some of the lords made no answer whatever to the papal injunction, while others, among whom was Catherine Sforza of Imola and Forli, presented to him counter claims, amounting to large sums, pretendedly due to them by the papal treasury since the time of previous Pontiffs.

On the 18th of December, 1497, the Pope issued another bull of the same import as the preceding, in which he stigmatized the required compensations as made against all provisions of law and justice [3]. This paper was published at once and affixed at the customary places ; again on the 11th of May, and a third time, on the 28th of June, 1498 [4]. Gordon, therefore [5], and Christophe [6] mistake in saying that the threatening bulls were kept secret, for fear that the lords and Vicars might take alarm and prepare for resistance.

Another subterfuge to which Catherine Sforza had recourse to escape the impending ruin, was to send to Rome a certain Augustin Spinola to make the plea, that the papal threat could have no effect against her, because she was but a governess and tutrix of her minor children. The Pontiff answered that no payment of the census had been made for many years, neither by her husband, by her nor by her

2. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. De Curia, an. I ad X, t. I. Regest. 874, f° 23vo; Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 2528, f° 90 ; Bullar. Roman. Ed. Augustae Taurin. Constit., IX.

3. Ibid., f° 27 ; Archiv. Cast. f° 3 ; Bullar. Roman. Luxemburgi, 1727. Const. VI. Contra non solventes census ; Bullar. Diplom. et Privileg. Const. IX.

4. Marginal notes on its record at the Vatican secret archives.

5. Alexandre VI, t. II, p. 32.

6. Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 533.

children, one of whom was now of age to govern ; wherefore the penalty should be inflicted upon them all [7].

Finally, in October, 1499, pope Alexander VI threatened once more with deprivation of their States, because of non-payment of the tribute, the Malatesta of Rimini, the Varani of Camerino, the Manfredi of Faenza, the Sforza of Pesaro, the Riario of Imola and Forli and Guidobaldo de Montefeltro, of the duchy of Urbino [8].

Before any hostile measures were taken against those papal vassals, legal proceedings were, moreover, instituted against each one of them before the pontifical supreme tribunal, as we find it fully stated in the case of Catherine Sforza and of her four sons [9].

All those admonitions, threatenings and condemnations of the Pontiff were so much labor lost upon the disloyal feudatories of the Pontifical States, who were resolved to hold their cities and territories as lords supreme and independent [10]. But, when the troops of Louis XII were crossing the Alps for the conquest of Milan, pope Alexander VI, confiding in the assistance of the French monarch, his and Cesar de Borgia's friend, commenced himself to assemble an army for the subjugation and chastisement of his defiant vassals. He engaged as condottieri all the principal noblemen of his States, loyal to him at the time. Thus did he pay four thousand ducats to Giangiordano, Julius and Paulus Orsini, on the 4th of July, 1499 ; two thousand to John Baptist de Conti, on the 13th ; fourteen hundred to Astore Baglioni, on the 24th of the same month, and other sums to many more con-

7. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam., 1497-1501. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no. 53, f° 132vo.

8. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 570; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, t. VII, p. 424.

9. Ronchini, ap. Atti e Memor. per la provin. dell' Emilia, Nov. ser. t. I, p. 38. See Document 169.

10. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 393.

dottieri [11]. On November the 4th, he hired Alfonso, the duke of Bisceglia at one hundred and twenty ducats a month, and on the 22d, Hercules Bentivoglio [12] and soon after, Vitellozzo Vitelli.

When making his triumphal entry in the city of Milan, on the 6th of October, 1499, king Louis XII was accompanied by the highest nobility of France, by cardinal Giuliano della Rovere and Cesar de Borgia, and there he met the papal delegate, Giovanni de Borgia the younger [13].

To defray the expenses of the war, which he was to commence, Cesar borrowed for the Pope and in his name from the city of Milan, the sum of forty-five thousand ducats, for the repayment of which the two cardinals, Giuliano della Rovere and Giovanni de Borgia went security [14].

Nor was pope Alexander VI deceived in his expectation of assistance from the French king. The cardinal legate obtained, indeed, through earnest request [15], from Louis XII a reenforcement for the papal army, consisting of three hundred lances [16], at the King's pay, under the command of the lord Ivon d'Allègre, and four thousand Swise, led by Anthony de Bissey, bailli of Dijon, at the expense of the Pope [17].

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11. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no. 52, fiis 227, 230, 234.

12. Ibid., Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Lib. IIII. Armar. 29, no. 53, fiis 17vo, 43vo.

13. Giovanni Andrea Prato, a contemporary, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. III, p. 227. The Pope forwarded to Cesar, employed by him, a draft for twenty ducats, to pay his expenses in Milan : Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497 ad 1501. Lib. IV, Armar. 99, no. 53, fo 86vo.

14. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 570; Gottlob, Aus der Camera, s. 228; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 432.

15. " Impetraverat ", Bembo says : Hist. Venet., Lib. V, p. 163.

16. A lance consisted of eight men : Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 414, n.

17. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 213 ; Gozzadini, Giov. II, Bentiv., p. 118 ; Malipiero, Annal. Vent., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 567 ; Bonoli, Istorie di Forli, p. 277 ; de l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 414, where he confounds this aid of Louis XII with

Louis XII left Milan for France on the 7th of November [18], and Cesar de Borgia, after having directed his French auxiliaries to the province of Romagna, hurriedly went to Rome, to confer with the Pontiff and to bring up his army. He arrived in the City on the 13th, and left it again on the 21st, at the head of all the pontifical soldiers, numbering from seven to eight thousand men [19].

After joining the French troops near Bologna, at the end of the month of November, Cesar de Borgia resolved to commence his aggression on the disloyal lords, by attacking the cities of Imola and Forli, governed by Catherine Sforza, who was, for her help given to Ludovico the Moro, more than the other princes of Romagna odious to the French captains.

This Catherine Sforza was an illegitimate daughter of Galeazo, duke of Milan [20], assassinated by tyrannicides ; a sister of Giangaleazo, poisoned by his uncle, Ludovico the Moro, and a widow of Jerome Riario, count of Forli and Imola, murdered by his subjects, who were tired of his barbarity and avarice.

She was a virile woman, very immoral and cruel, but of great courage. She cut to pieces all the murderers of her husband who did not save themselves by voluntary exile, and proclaimed her oldest son, Octavian, count in his father's stead, but assumed herself the government of his domains [21]. Then she lived with a secret consort or paramour, a Genoese, named James Fevo or Feo, who was put to death by some people of Forli, whom he had maltreated. The countess took

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that given in the year 1502, as also does Gregorovius : Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 432.

18. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 575.

19. Idem, ibid., p. 578 ; Bonoli, Istorie di Forli, p. 277; Tundozzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 550. Not on the 11th, as de l'Epinois relates, ubi supra.

20. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 20294, fo 48vo.

21. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 304, n. 1 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 290, and Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 139.

a frightful revenge on the whole quarter where he had been killed, sparing the life of neither age nor sex [22]. She contracted a clandestine marriage with Giovanni de' Medici, a Florentine commissary in Forli, whom she buried in the year 1497 [23]. Mazzoni [24], a secretary of count Albertino Boschetti, further relates how his master was exasperated by the intrigues of Catherine Sforza with Giovanni di Casale, ambassador of the duke of Milan, whom she constantly kept by her side. Neither would the Pope admit di Casale to his presence, when sent as an agent to Rome by his mistress [25].

It is no wonder if the governess of Forli and Imola was hated and detested by all her subjects, whom she held in subjection by German hired soldiers. Flaminius, that is, Giovanni Antonio Zarrabini, a citizen of Imola, wrote to Cesar de Borgia : " It is rumored, and we believe it, that you will soon arrive with your army. Should you meet with any opposition in capturing our city, I beg you not to blame for it the people of Imola, who are yours at heart and, long since, wish to have you as their master. They love and admire you, and would, if possible, receive you ad once with open arms. Kindly impute all difficulty that you may encounter to the violences done to us, and to the heavy yoke under which we are oppressed " [26].

The desperate character of Catherine Sforza is evidenced by her attempt upon the life of pope Alexander VI himself.

In the evening of the 21st of November, after Cesar de Borgia had left with the papal army, was arrested, near the castle of Sant' Angelo, a certain Thomasius, a Forlivese and

22. Bonoli, Istoria di Forli, p. 272 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 394, n. 4 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 140.

23. Paris, Bibl. Nation., ubi supra ; Bonoli, Balan and Gregorovius, ubi supra.

24. Ap. Balan, ubi supra.

25. Bonoli, Istorie di Forli, p. 276.

26. Epistolae Familiares, Lib I, Epist. II.

papal musician, who had arrived in the City with a letter pretendedly from the people of Forli, begging for an agreement with the Pope. The letter was inserted in a tube filled with volatile poison, to be handed to the Pontiff himself, who, should he have opened it, would not have escaped death. In trying to obtain an admission to His Holiness, Thomasius disclosed his secret to another Forlivese and to a guard of the palace gate, through whom the Pope obtained information of the plot. Thomasius was incarcerated and closely watched, and, when afterwards rebuked, he protested that, for the liberation from attack on Forli and its countess, who had fed him from youth, he was ready to die a dozen deaths. The Pope ordered that, the following Sunday, a H. Mass of thanksgiving, for his escape from poison, should be sung in honor of the Blessed Virgin, in the church of St. Mary of Peace in the City [27].

In a brief of the same day to the Eight of Florence, pope Alexander VI mentioned the crime of Catherine Sforza, that daughter of perdition, he says, and thanked God for his preservation : of which they would hear more fully by letter from their ambassador [28].

Pietro Delphini testifies to the criminal attempt, and relates its punishment, by his letter from Florence, dated the fifteenth day of January, 1500 [29].

Burchard further reports [30] the suspicious particular of the flight from Rome, in the afternoon of the same 21st of November, of cardinal Raphael Riario, Catherine's brother-in-law, who did not reappear in the City before the death of pope Alexander VI [31]. This cardinal was later imprisoned,

27. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 578, 579 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 395 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, t. VII, p. 424 ; Ranke, Geschichten, Buch I, Cap. 4, s. 137.
28. Ibid., p. 579, n. 2.
29. See Document 168b.
30. Ibid., p. 578.
31. Branca da Talini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LIV, 22, fo 16vo.

as conscious of, and concealing, the plot of Alfonso Petrucci against the life of pope Leo X [32].

In spite of all the minute details given by a candid eyewitness, and the accompanying well established incidents, the ambassador of hostile Venice was pleased, without giving any reason, to doubt the fact, and Gregorovius [33] with Thuasne [34] allows his prejudice to suspect the Pontiff of fabricating the story !

When the papal army was approaching her States, Catherine Sforza sent her sons and all her valuables, for safe-keeping, to Francesco Pepo, in Florence [35], confided the city and fortress of Imola to her castellan, Dionigio Naldi, and resolved to conduct in person the defence of the stronger place of Forli. The city of Imola opened its gates to Cesar de Borgia, when he was still in the town of Cantalupe, on a Sunday, the 1st of December, 1499 [36], and, on the 8th, the fortress surrendered, on the condition that the lives and effects of its defenders should be safe [37]. The news of Imola's capture reached Rome on the 11th [38].

The Baglioni of Perugia, one of whom was a captain in the pontifical army, were anxious to sack the town of Caglio, a dependency of Imola, but Cesar had already provided for the security of this place, as also of San Mauro, another possession of the Riarios [39].

32. Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., t. III, col. 71.

33. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 433.

34. Burchard, ubi supra.

35. Bonoli, ubi supra, p. 277 ; Biaggio Buonaccorsi, Diario de Successi, p. 27 ; Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. IV, Cap. V, p. 301 ; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 446.

36. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 17522 : Chronique de Jean Danton.

37. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p 395, n. 1, referring to a letter of Cesar himself to the duke of Ferrara.

38. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 581.

39. Silvestro Calandra writing the 24th of October, 1500, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I. Append. Vol. II, p. 243.

Leaving a garrison in Imola, Cesar moved his troops towards Forli, and accepted, on his way, the submission of Tossignano and of several other places of the district [40]. His vanguard encamped on the 9th of December, John Danton says [41], before the walls of Forli. On the 13th, there was a rumor in the city that the countess intended to arrest some prominent citizens and to sack their houses. This, whether true or false, caused the people to open their gates to the besiegers, whereupon Catherine, who retired to the citadel, commenced to bombard her city [42]. The troops entered the next day. Cesar, who followed them on the 17th, proposed to Countess Catherine, in the Pope's name, to compensate her with three castles in the territory of Cesena and to create her son, Cesar, a cardinal ; but she defied him to drive her from her fortress [43].

Then Cesar ordered to batter the citadel with all the power of his canon and a portion of its walls was demolished. Finally, after many tragic episodes, in which the defenders killed many of the besiegers, he succeeded, on the 12th of January, 1500, in wading through the moat and taking the citadel by assault. Seven hundred Burgundian and German defenders of the citadel were, according to modern " Kultur ", murdered to the last man, and the countess, with two of her brothers and her minion, di Casale, were taken prisoners. Cesar rewarded the captain to whom Catherine had first surrendered [44], and assumed the charge of delivering her to the Pope. The news of the capture of Forli reached Rome on the night of the 14th [45].

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40. Bonoli, Istorie di Forli, p. 277.
41. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr. Cod. 17522.
42. Bonoli, ubi supra.
43. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. op. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I. t. VII, P. I, pp. 567, 568 ; Balan, ubi supra.
44. Paris, Bibl. Nation., ubi supra.
45. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 10 and n. 2 ; Cfr. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 424.

Soon after, the people of Forlimpopoli came to offer their allegiance to the Pontiff, and their ancient form of government was restored to them [46].

Before leaving Forli, Cesar placed its administration in charge of Ramiro d'Orca, introduced into the Forlivese citadel a garrison of three hundred Spaniards and intrusted the peace of the territory to the pontifical condottiere, Ercole Bentivoglio, at the head of five hundred horse [47].

Giovanni Sforza, the lord of Pesaro, was the next to be punished for his negligence in paying his tribute and for his criminal intercourse with the Turks. Aware of the impending danger, he went to offer his State to the Venetians, in exchange for some small town or place, that would provide him with the means of living. The Pope and the French king would have prevented greedy Venice from occupying Pesaro [48], but the Seigniory answered to Giovanni that they were unwilling to help one who had plotted with the Infidels against them [49]. He then applied for assistance to the duke of Urbino, Guidobaldi di Montefeltro, who, being equally threatened by the Pontiff, sent a nummer of troops for his defence [50].

On the 20th of December, Cesar wrote from Forli to the duke of Ferrara, that he was go to Pesaro on the next day, to attack certain rebels of the apostolic See, and he moved the whole of his army in that direction ; but he had not commenced the investment of that city, when suddenly letters were received from king Louis XII, ordering d'Allègre and de Bissey to leave Romagna at once and to hurry to Lombardy, in order to help him against Ludovico the Moro, who had

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46. Balan, ubi supra.
47. Bonoli, Istorie di Forli, p. 281.
48. Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. V. Cap. I, p. 11.
49. Bembo, Hist. Venet., Lib. V, p. 164.
50. Balan, ubi supra ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 86.

recaptured the city of Milan and was preparing for battle with the French.

ARTICLE II. — PUNISHMENT OF CATHERINE SFORZA.

When his auxiliaries left him, Cesar, keeping away from Pesaro, returned to Rome [51], where he made his triumphal entry, on the 26th of February, 1500, with Catherine Sforza, a captive, in his train [52].

The countess was placed at the Pontiff's disposal, who ordered her to be interned in the palace of the Belvedere. Gregorius remarks that probably there were few at the time, to take pity on her [53]; but, a few pages farther, he tries to excite his reader's sympathy, by describing, in a romancer's style, the supposed " fright and anguish of the poor lady, at the thought of the proximity to her jailors, the most terrible of men, the Pope and his son ", he says. " There she sat, high in the Belvedere, constantly in dread of Cesar's poison ; and it was a wonder, indeed, that she continued to live ". Does he, perhaps, want to recall to mind her late attempt at poisoning that Pope ? She abused the relative freedom allowed her, by trying to escape, and was, consequently, confined in the castle of Sant-Angelo [54]. After some time, at the request of the king of France, it is said, the Pope granted her pardon and liberty. He afterwards, on the 11th of July, 1501, wrote to the Florentine Seigniory a letter in her favor, stating how he had treated her gently and how she had relied on his benevolence ; and now, they would oblige him by kindly receiving her well in Florence [55]. She

51. Jean d'Anton, ap. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds fr., Cod. 17522 ; Biaggio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 28 ; alii.

52. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 19; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 140.

53. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 140.

54. Gregorovius, ibid.; Balan. Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 395.

55. See Document 170.

retired to a Florentine convent of cloistered nuns where she died [56].

Pope Alexander VI showed himself also forgiving and liberal towards her Riario children, by bestowing on them a yearly pension of two thousand and five hundred florins [57].

On the 19th of March, 1500, the Pope named the duke of Valentinois, Cesar de Borgia, his temporal Vicar of San Mauro, Imola and Forli, and granted a slight reduction of the census of the latter city [58]. On this occasion, a number of delegates for the Forlivese people came to Rome and gladly took the oath of fidelity and allegiance to the Pontiff ; for, as Astore Manfredi wrote : " Poor Imola and Forli have been struck and hammered, but their inhabitants are consoled when thinking that now they are rid of their hard servitude ". Their envoys were feasted at the pontifical court, and received the confirmation of their ancient privileges and the exemption of several late taxes and tolls [59]. The long tyrannized cities and towns of their districts now commenced a period of peace and prosperity.

Cesar obtained Romagna, made it united, peaceful and loyal ; its people became attached to him and placed confidence in him, Machiavelli says, and Romagnosi asserts that for many cities it was a real gain to fall under his power, while it was the ruin of only a few dominant families [60].

When, in the beginning of the year 1504, cardinal Riario tried to obtain from pope Julius II the restoration of his nephews, the delegates of Imola declared to the Pontiff that he could do with them as he pleased, provided he did not

56. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 424.

57. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXII, 242, under the heading of : " Acta contra Principes et Barones".

58. See Document 169.

59. Bonoli, Istorie di Forli, p. 281 ; Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 511.

60. Zambelli, Considerazioni sul Libro del Principe, p. 10 ; Cfr. Dennistoun, Memoirs, t. I, p. 374.

compel them to submit again to the sons of Catherine Sforza [61].

ARTICLE III. — CAPTURE OF PESARO FROM GIOVANNI SFORZA.

On the fourth Sunday of Lent, March the 29th, 1500, pope Alexander VI invested, in St. Peter's basilica, the duke of Valentinois with the mantle and cap of a Standard-bearer of the Roman church ; and after Cesar had taken the customary oath as Captain General of the papal army, he handed to him two blessed banners and the baton of office ; and, moreover, bestowed on him the year's golden rose [62].

Cesar passed the following months quietly in Rome, engaging, as captains of the papal army, the lords Julius and Paulus Orsini, Vitellozzo Vitelli and Johannes Baglioni, besides a dozen noblemen of Rome and Spaniards [63]. In the meantime the Pontiff was making the political and the financial preparations for a second expedition against his rebel vicars of Romagna.

The Venetians, always eager to increase their domain, had, already on the 12th of November, 1499, sent to Rimini and Faenza their condottiere, Bartholomew d'Alviano, with two thousand horse and three thousand men on foot, to protect these places from the French and the papal troops [64].

When, on the 11th of September, 1500, the Seigniory sent messengers to announce to the Pontiff the ruin and capture of their city, Modone, by the Turks, and to request his help, pope Alexander VI readily consented ; but took the occasion

61. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, pp. 377, 378, vol. III, pp. 12, 49.

62. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 26-31.

63. Burchard, ibid., p. 78; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 168.

64. Malipiero, Annal. Venet., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, 568 ; Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 550.

to tell them that they did not reciprocate his good will, by opposing his designs in Romagna, and defending excommunicates and rebels of the Holy See. The envoys, after vain excuses, answered that henceforth the Venetians would be perfectly satisfied, should the Pope prosecute his intended warfare. In fact, they had already recalled their representative sent to Faenza [65]. They had modified their schemes, when learning that the king of France would consider as an insult, offered to himself, any help given by any one to the lordly Vicars, against whom the papal army should have advanced [66]

About this time Venice endeavored to regain the Pontiff's favors by inscribing Cesar de Borgia on the list of its nobility [67].

The Pope had so successfully conducted his negotiations with the French monarch, that the latter, who had, at first, allowed Giovanni Bentivoglio to assist his nephew, Astore Manfredi of Faenza, afterwards expressly forbade him to do so [68]. The Pontiff also requested from Louis XII the aid of his troops, and the King, who relied on him more than on any other Italian prince and respected him as the Head of religion [69], was easily influenced by his prime minister, the cardinal of Rouen, during the Summer of 1500, to reenforce the pontifical army with six hundred men-at-arms and six hundred Swiss soldiers [70]. The Venetian ambassador, Paolo Capello, relates, however, that, on this occasion, the Pope obliged himself to let Cesar de Borgia accompany the King on his intended expedition against Naples. The conquest of Milan was hardly completed when the French

65. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 76, n.; Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 548.

66. Tonduzzi, ibid., p. 552; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 399; cfr. Machiavelli, Legazione di Francia, Opere II, 193.

67. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 440.

68. Machiavelli. Ex Blesis, 8a Octobris, 1500.

69. Machiavelli, Opere, vol. V, p. 162.

70. Albèri, Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 11.

squadrons, under Ivon d'Allègre, before reaching Pesaro or Rimini, joined again the papal forces [71].

After putting in motion his vanguard, two days before, Cesar de Borgia, on the 1st of October, 1500, departed from Rome at the head of an army of seven hundred heavy, and two hundred light, calvalry, and of six thousand infantry [72], on his way to Pesaro in Romagna.

Giovanni Sforza, the papal Vicar of this city, was a violent and crual tyrant, hated by his subjects [73], in whom he could place no confidence. Already on the 1st, and again more urgently on the 26th of September, he had written for help to Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, who sent to him as reenforcements for the garrison of his fortress, one hundred men under an Albanese captain [74]. While Cesar de Borgia was still at a distance, the people of Pesaro, on a Sunday morning, the 11th of October, 1500, took up arms against their Lord, and threw their gates wide open, at the first approach of the papal advance guard. Giovanni Sforza fled with difficulty to his adjoining stronghold, and the following night, left his domain over bad and dangerous byways, together with the Albanese, in search of safety in Rimini, at first, and then in Bologna. He afterwards proceeded to Ravenna and Venice, and finally found an asylum with the marquis of Mantua [75].

The fortress of Pesaro withstood the first attacks, but surrendered also before the arrival of the main army with Cesar,

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71. Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. V, vol. II, p. 11 ; Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 554 ; Gozzadini, Giovanni II, Bentivoglio, p. 118 ; Papal brief of Jan. 28th, 1501, ap. Gozzadini, Docum. LXXV.

72. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 77, n.; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 161.

73. Gregorovius, ibid., s. 162, who adds the hostile but unhistorical remark, that Giovanni had been schooled by the Borgias in Rome.

74. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 161.

75. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V p. 399 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 163, 169.

its captain general, who had stopped a few days at the city of Fano, which the Pope had forbidden him to disturb, unless its people should desire a change of administration [76]. The city of Fano, anxious to preserve its independence, had promised its co-operation to the deputies of the duke of Urbino, of the lords of Senigallia, Pesaro and of those of Romagna, who had assembled in Camerino, to oppose the subjugation of Imola and Forli by the troops of Cesar de Borgia [77]. But Fano, like all other self-governing places, was sadly divided into civil factions and torn by continual fights, murders and excesses of all kinds, to the great indignation of the Pontiff ; and its magistrates had often been warned of punishment to come, by the cardinals Orsini, de Costa and Grimani [78]. Besides, they were frightened by the unheard of cruelty of the French soldiers, who had come to Cesar's assistance. They resolved, therefore, to voluntarily submit to the immediate authority of the Supreme Pontiff, who, afterwards, in December, 1501, won their affection by giving to the Fanese a new form of government [79]. Fano sent a hundred and fifty men to help Cesar de Borgia in the capture of Camerino, and remained faithful to the Pope and his Captain General [80].

On the 27th of October, Cesar reached Pesaro [81], where he was welcomed as a liberator by the inhabitants, solemnly conducted to the fugitive tyrant's palace and proclaimed lord of the city. On the 28th he installed a civil governor at the palace and went to inspect the fortress. After introducing here a small garrison under a Spanish castellan, and giving orders for the removal of the best artillery [82], he went, on the

76. Gregorovius, ibid., s. 163, 167.
77. Amiani, Memorie Istoriche di Fano, pp. 77.
78. Ibid., p. 78.
79. Ibid., p. 82.
80. Ibid., pp. 83, 84.
81. Bibl. Vatic. Urbinat., Cod. 904, fo 12vo.
82. Used at the soon following siege of Faenza.

29th, with the whole of his army to the castle of Gradara, to move against Rimini, the following day [83].

At the death of pope Alexander VI Giovanni Sforza recovered Pesaro, and took a frightful revenge upon the people that had abandoned him, by confiscating their properties, and exiling, incarcerating and hanging them mercilessly [84].

ARTICLE IV. — CESAR TAKES RIMINI FROM THE MALATESTA.

A race of malefactors, the Malatesta, was dominating Rimini since many years. At this time the city was in the hands of the illegitimate sons, Pandolfo and Carlo, of the bastard Roberto Malatesta [85], and its people had recently begged their suzerain, pope Alexander VI, to procure them relief in their oppression [86]. When hearing of the progress of the papal army, Pandolfo had sent to Bologna, his wife and the treasures which he had been able to gather, while he himself, knowing the hatred of his subjects, took refuge in his fortress, and soon after, deserting his State, also fled to Bologna. All that remained for Cesar de Borgia to do, was to accept the possession of this other city, friendly to him [87].

ARTICLE V. — DIFFICULT CAPTURE OF FAENZA FROM THE MANFREDI.

Not so easy was to be the subjection of Faenza, the city against which the duke of Valentinois was now to lead the

83. Silvester Calandra, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, Append. Vol. II, pp. 243, 246 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, 163.

84. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 300.

85. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 272.

86. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. Ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII. P. I, p. 568.

87. Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 399 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 266. On this occasion also were verified the words of the poet :

pontifical army. The youthful lord, Astore Manfredi, and the people of Faenza were in perfect accord ; or, rather, sixteen of its prominent citizens were conducting its government, during the minority of their prince, under the practical sovereignty of the Florentine republic, ever since Astore's father, Galeotto, had been, in the year 1488, murdered by his wife, Francesca, daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna [88].

No one in Faenza was concerned about the suzerainty of the Pope, nor was the annual tribute regularly paid to the papal treasury. The late threatening bulls of the Pontiff and his summons of Astore Manfredi to appear before the Roman court had been neglected. Only after the decree depriving him of his estate had been issued, did Astore or the Faventine council dispatch to Rome, on the 10th of February, 1500, an envoy to pay the overdue census ; but he was told that he had come too late, as the execution of the sentence and been ordered [89].

Cesar de Borgia entered the Faventine territory, the 4th of November, 1500. He ordered his condottiere, Vitellozzo Vitelli, to take Bersighella and the other castles of the valley of the Lamone, which surrendered without opposition ; while he himself went to place his artillery around Faenza [90]. In vain did he attempt to confer with the council of the city, since the people were determined to resist with all their might. He had, however, better success with a few citizens and the

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...Caesar, sine sanguine doctus
Vincere, dumque licet lauruni [non tingere caede,
Belligera subigens hostes for- [midine, tectis
Ensibus..... : Franciscus Sperulus, ap. Vatic., Latin. Cod. 5205, f° 27.

88. Machiavelli, Istorie Fiorent., Lib. VIII, p. 342 ; Corio, Storia di Milano, Vol. 3, p. 446, n. ; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 361 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 291.

89. Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, pp. 549, 552 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 400.

90. Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 36 ; Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 232 ; Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 555; Balan, Stor. d'Italia, t. V, p. 400.

castellan of the fortress, who was willing to surrender the place to him ; but the treachery was discovered, and the castellan replaced with Giovanni Evangelista Manfredi, Astore's illegitimate brother [91]. On the 20th, the duke of Valentinois commenced to bombard the city and kept up a violent fire until the 26th, when he ventured to make an assault, which resulted in repulse and loss of many of his men [92]. Fighting continued with varying success, while Faenza found a powerful ally in the snows and rigors of Winter, that made life under tents almost unbearable [93]. On the last day of November, Cesar suspended the siege and took up winter quarters in the neigborhood, where he took possession of the remaining towns of the Faventine district : Russio, Solarolo, Granarola and Oriolo ; and caused much damage to Faenza itself [94].

For the sake of courtesy, the duke had asked permission to make use of Castel Bolognese as winterquarters for a portion of his troops. Giovanni Bentivoglio who, like the Venetians and the Florentines, was prevented only through fear of the French, from openly assisting his nephew Astore Manfredi [95], sent to the duke an eloquent citizen to politely refuse his request ; but Cesar sharply replied to him, that, not only Castel Bolognese but the whole State of Bologna being part of the Pontifical Dominion, he, as the Standard-bearer of the Church and her Captain General, had a right to make use not only of the place requested, but also of any other in the district of Bologna. Thereupon, the Bentivo-

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91. Franciscus Capellus, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 414 ; Silvester Calandra, ap. Archiv. Storico Ital., ser. I. Append., vol. II, p. 242 ; Balan, ubi supra.

92. Tonduzzi, ubi supra, p. 556; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 266.

93. Gozzadini, Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, p. 118.

94. Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diar., p. 36; Tonduzzi, ubi supra, p. 557.

95. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna. t. V, p. 410.

glios prepared their city and hired troops to oppose a possible attack of the papal army [96].

The legitimate claim of Cesar de Borgia was soon confirmed by a papal brief of the 28th of January, 1501, by which pope Alexander VI, under threat of the loss of all the rights and privileges ever granted to their city and other penalties, ordered the Bolognese council to admit his soldiers in Castel Bolognese, to procure for them all necessary supplies at decent prices and to lend to them all due help and assistance [97]. From another pontifical letter of the 26th of the following February it appears that Bologna had fully obeyed its sovereign, and would aid his army towards an early capture of Faenza [98]. In fact, Muzzi relates [99] that Faenza fell not only through the action of the soldiers of the duke, but also through the help of the timorous Bolognese, which Bentivoglio could not or dared not concede to the endangered Manfredi.

Cesar passed the first months of the year 1501, in the city of Cesena [100].

96. Gozzadini, ubi supra ; Muzzi, ubi supra, p. 267.

97. Gozzadini, ubi supra, Document LXXV.

98. Ibid., Docum. LXXVI.

99. Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 267.

100. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 400 or seq.

Thuasne, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 123, n. 2, accuses the Pope of simony, when he asserts that the appointment of the cardinal of Rouen, as legate of France, was the price paid for the troops sent by king Louis XII to the assistance of Cesar de Borgia. The Florentine ambassador, Fr. de Pepis wrote, he observes, on the 26th of April, 1501, that Faenza would never be taken, if the cardinal of Rouen should not obtain the legation of France. The same de Pepis had written on the previous 13th, that the King had given orders to Mons. de Chaumont to dispatch additional troops at any request of de Villeneuve, the French envoy in Rome ; troops, indeed, that the Pope did not wish to receive, as he states himself; troops, whose arrival is not indicated in any historical work. The simple facts are thus : The French Ivon d'Allègre reenforced the papal army, and six month later, on the 6th of April, 1501, the cardinal of Rouen, George d'Amboise, who had, for years been friendly and useful to the Pontiff, was made papal legate, with the consent and approval of the whole consistory. The simony, therefore, is but a hostile conclusion from an ambassador's faulty report.

The winter had passed in fruitless negotiations and hostile raids. On the 13th of April, the duke returned to Faenza [101], and with sixteen hundred and sixty shots made a breach in a curtain wall. On the 14th, he took a bastion [102]. He delivered an unsuccessful assault on the 16th, and lost many men in three successive attacks, the following day. On the 21st, six hundred of his soldiers were slain, among whom was his condottiere, Ferdinand Farnese. After losing two thousand men at the next encounter, he commenced to doubt the possibility of success, when a traitor indicated to him the weak spot of the fortress and told him of the distress and scarcity of food in the city. While he was preparing another assault, on the 24th of April, the weakened and discouraged defenders offered to make terms of peace, and made their submission the following day [103].

Nearly every historian, belonging to the period of revenge on the Borgias, asserts that the surrender of Faenza was made under certain conditions, the first of which was the liberty of the Manfredi brothers to go wherever they pleased. Yet, the duke of Valentinois himself wrote to the duke of Ferrara, on the very 25th of April, 1501, that the besieged had submitted and given themselves up to his unrestrained discretion, "se sonno remessi et dati a mia discretione et arbitrio" [104]. Nor does pope Alexander VI speak of any conditions, in his brief of the 29th of April, 1501, to the community of Faenza [105]; but he simply directs them to obey the orders of his Captain General and of his officials. Neither does the marquis of Mantua, in his letter of the 28th of April, 1501, to the Electors of the Empire, mention any

101. Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 558.
102. Balan, ibid., ref. to letters of Cesar himself to Ercole, duke of Ferrara.
103. Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 560.
104. Balan, ubi supra.
105. Tonduzzi, ubi supra, p. 563.

accord or treaty ; but he plainly states that the duke of Valentinois has subdued Astore's defenders and compelled them to surrender [106]. In fact, it would be more than strange, if Cesar, knowing the extremity to which the Faventines were reduced, should have granted full liberty to a defeated prince, whom the love of his people might at any time attempt to restore in Faenza. It may also be noticed that the treaty of surrender copied by Tonduzzi [107], has the form of a project only or tentative draft, and is incorrectly signed by a condottiere, " Baptista Orsinus ".

The Civiltà Cattolica [108] says well that the Faventines were compelled to give up their lord, " dovettero consegnarlo ", and the Florentine commissary, Aloisius de Stufa, wrote on 26th of April, 1501, that the duke sent for him the day previous. He adds that Astore obeyed at once, " subito " [109]; willingly and spontaneously, according to Stella and Sperulus [110]. Cesar overloaded him with presents and costly robes [111] ; but, as the captive was, with his brother, a burden on his captor, the two Manfredi were soon sent to Rome, where they underwent the lot common to every prince taken in war, and were made prisoners in the castle of Sant' Angelo [112], where, however, many privileges, even of housekeeping, was accorded to them [113].

About a year later they were put to death. Sigismondo of

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106. " Dominum misere oppressit et ad deditionem compulit "—Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1501, Apr. 28—Original paper.

107. Ubi supra, p. 560.

108. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 425.

109. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 445.

110. Relatively, ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 562, and Bibl. Vatic. Latin, Cod. 5205, f° 23vo.

111. Sperulus, ibid., f° 24vo ; Tonduzzi, ubi supra, p. 562 ; Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. V, Cap. II, vol. II, p. 15.

112. Silvestro Calandra, writing to Mantua, July 20th, 1501, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., Ser. I. Append. Vol. II, p. 250 ; Tonduzzi, p. 563.

113. E. L. Cataneo, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 432, n. 3 ; Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 18.

Foligno assures us [114] that Cesar de Borgia gave the order to strangle them and cast their bodies into the Tiber. We may well ask how he discovered that order, which, being disgraceful, must necessarily have been kept secret. Certainly, Giustinian, then an ambassador in Rome, never heard of it. He writes, on the 6th of June, 1502 [115] : " It has been said that last Thursday, during the night, the two lords of Faenza and their majordomo have been thrown into the Tiber and drowned. The diligent news gatherer, Burchard, knows no more of the pretended command. He relates [116] how, on Thursday, the 9th of June, 1502, were found in the Tiber, choked and dead, the lord of Faenza, with a stone about his neck, and two young men, with their arms bound behind their backs, and, near to them, a woman and many others. There is not a word of Cesar ; not even, on this occasion, in the chronicles of Bologna [117]. The cause and other circumstances of the tragical event remained a mystery, which the very tribunals of Rome tried to clear up as late as in May, 1504 [118] ; and yet, several historians have not scrupled to assert as a fact, that Cesar de Borgia was the criminal.

Guicciardini goes still further when saying that, before death, Astore Manfredi was subjected by somebody to the vilest of outrages. His vague incrimination, although marked as a calumny by the label : " Secondo si disse ", as they say ; was rehearsed by Jovius and Nardi [119] , but is generally discarded to-day.

The news of the surrender of Faenza reached Rome in the

114. Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 232.

115. Villari, ubi supra.

116. Diar., t. III, p. 208.

117. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 276, n. According to another report, the Manfredi were out of Rome at the time : Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 432, n. 3.

118. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 129.

119. Respectively, Elogiorum, Lib. IV, p. 132, and Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 237.

evening of the 26th, and the event was celebrated the next day with public feasts and rejoicings, the roar of cannon and the sounding of bells, bonfires and illuminations [120]. At the following consistory, Cesar de Borgia, until then made lord of the various cities conquered by him, was proclaimed Lord or Duke of the whole province of Romagna, and the Pontiff sent to him the diploma, the coronet and the sword of his new dignity [121]. Cesar made use of this title already on the 1st of May, 1501, when he named Jacopo Pisa his lieutenant of Faenza [122]. He tried to win the good will of the Faventines and succeeded so well that, on the 25th of June, 1502, the anniversary of his first entry was celebrated in their city with rejoicing and public festivities [123].

Neither had the people of Faenza any sooner submitted to their sovereign, the Pope, than he also became their benefactor. They sent envoys to Rome, in the beginning of July, 1501, to request his assistance in repairing their city after the ravages of the siege ; and, on the 21st of the same month, pope Alexander VI ordered his treasurer of the March of Ancona to pay for that purpose, in three yearly installments, the sum of two thousand and two hundred scudi or ducats [124].

ARTICLE VI. — CESAR INTENDED TO EXPEL THE BENTIVOGLIOS FROM BOLOGNA, MAKES A TREATY WITH THEM.

Leaving a garrison a five hundred men in the fortress, even before providing Faenza with new officials, Cesar de Borgia hurriedly left the city, on the 27th of April, 1501 [125].

120. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 130, 131.
121. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 131, n. 2 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 181.
122. Alvisi, ibid. Docum. 33.
123. Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 565.
124. Tonduzzi, ibid., p. 564.
125. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 176.

He was resolved to punish the lord of Bologna, Giovanni Bentivoglio, for having tried to send two hundred soldiers to the assistance of Astore Manfredi [126]. He at once proceeded to the Bolognese territory, took and sacked Castel San Pietro, opened to him by the Bolognese envoys sent to congratulate him on the capture of Faenza, and forced them to consign to him Casal Fiuminese, Castelguelfo and neighboring places ; while his condottieri took other castles and overran the whole district [127]. He intended also to expel Giovanni Bentivoglio from Bologna itself, many of whose citizens, especially the Mariscotti, favored his design [128] ; but Giovanni's son, Hermes, murdered nearly all of these. The people, together with imported troops, were armed for defence and king Louis XII, expressly forbade to further molest the Bentivoglios, who had bought his protection with a large sum of money [129]. All these particulars were for the Duke sufficient motives to stop further attempts ; while the lord of Bologna, being refused help from his neighbors [130], and knowing his antagonist to be a friend of the French king, felt disposed to avert the danger by proposing most satisfactory conditions of peace. He would pay to Cesar a tribute of nine thousand ducats, relinquish to him the important town of Castel Bolognese, let him retain the booty seized on Bolognese territory, and help him with a hundred paid men-at-arms and

126. Letter of the 27th of April, 1501, from Franc. de Pepis, Florentine ambassador in Rome, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 446 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 38, f° 209 ; Muzzi, Annal di Bologna, t. V, p. 256.

127. Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 563 ; Muzzi, ubi supra, p. 412 ; Gozzadini, Giov. II Bentivoglio, p. 121.

128. Silvestro Calandra, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I. Append. Vol. II, p. 244.

129. Muzzi, ubi supra ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 401 ; Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 563 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 653, Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 238.

130. Gozzadini, Giov. II Bentivoglio, p. 121.

two thousand foot, to restore Piero de' Medici to power in Florence [131].

The accord was made in Bologna, on the 30th of April, 1501, and signed by the Duke in Villafontana, with the proviso that it should be ratified or corrected by the Pontiff [132]. Pope Alexander VI granted his approval, and, by a bull of the 1st of June, 1501, named Cesar as lord of Castel Bolognese [133].

ARTICLE VII. — CESAR'S INCURSION INTO THE TERRITORY OF FLORENCE.

Pope Alexander VI had long since desired the return of the Medici to Florence, and almost every prince of Central Italy was dissatisfied with the unreliable government of that city [134], which had become poor and exhausted through internal dissensions and constant changing of its magistrates. Cesar de Borgia had manifested his wish of making the desired change, on his way back to Rome. He lost no time. On the 4th of May, 1501 [135], he was within the borders of the Florentine republic, where he met its envoys, who pretended to have come to congratulate him on his successes ; but, in reality, it was to inquire into the object of his armed entrance upon their domain. The Duke received them well, requested free passage and victuals at fair prices, and sent them back, on the 7th, together with one of his own men, to

131. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 653 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 179 ; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 453 ; Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 238 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 414 ; Biagio Bunonaccorsi, Diar., p. 40.

132. Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 181.

133. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret., an. I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 362. The text is ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad Ab. 1501, no. XVI.

134. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, pp. 234, 275 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 233.

135. Machiavelli, Il Principe, p. 293, Edit. Milano, 1878.

ask that ambassadors, provided with full powers, should be dispatched to the town of Barberino, where he would expose to them his whole design [136].

The Duke arrived in Barberino on the 12th [137], and here he was joined by the troops of Bologna [138] ; but his army was still insufficient to impose his will on a large and populous Republic. He was, moreover, hampered by a recent letter of the French king, forbidding him to make war on his faithful allies [139].

The plenipotentiaries of Florence, Cosmo de' Pazzi, bishop of Arezzo, Franciscus de Nerli and Alexander Acciaiuoli, arrived shortly after. According to Nardi [140], Cesar wanted, for his security as duke of the adjoining Romagna, that Piero de' Medici be reinstated, or such a government be established upon whose word he could feel secure ; but his demand was absolutely rejected, and he did not press it any further. We find it, however, generally stated, that he was readily granted the following terms of an agreement concluded on the 15th of May, 1501 :

1st. That between the Seigniory of Florence and the Duke of Romagna there should be an everlasting friendship and alliance for the defence of their States, against any prince or power, with the exception of the Pope and of the king of France.

2d. That the Duke should, for the next three years, command at least through a lieutenant, three hundred men-at-arms, in any need or warlike enterprise of the Republic, if requested three months in advance ; and should receive as pay the annual sum of thirty-six thousand ducats.

136. Nardi, ubi supra, p. 238 ; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 454; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diar., p. 40.

137. Ammirato, ibid., Buonaccorsi, ibid., p. 42.

138. Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 401.

139. Ammirato, ubi supra, p. 454 ; Buonaccorsi, Diar., p. 43.

140. Storie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 242.

3d. That the Seigniory should forgive and pardon any robberies and excesses committed by any one proved to have been in the service of the Duke.

4th. That, in case the Duke should make war on Piombino, the Florentine republic should abstain from giving any assistance to the lord of that city [141].

The Duke's condottieri, the Orsini and Vitellozzo Vitelli, who were embittered enemies of Florence, had committed robberies and other misdeeds ever since their entrance into Tuscany. The convention just concluded prevented open hostilities, but did not put an end to their depredations and barbarities. The suffering people ardently wished that the Duke might remove his troops from the country ; but Cesar was anxious to receive, before his departure, the first payment of his engagement as a Florentine captain [142] ; and, therefore, made slow progress on his way, arriving in Empoli on the 18th, and, at last, crossing the frontiers in the direction of Piombino, as late as the 25th of May [143].

In his " Legazione al duca Valentino " [144], Machiavelli reports to Florence, and seems to admit as truthful, an explanation given by Cesar de Borgia himself of the havoc wrought by his army in Florentine territory. The Duke told me, he writes, how, after the capture of Faenza, the Orsini and Vitelli importuned him to return to Rome by way of Florence and how he refused, because the Pope had, by brief, directed him differently ; yet, conquered by their persistent supplications, he had, finally, consented, under the express condition that they should harm neither country nor

141. The text of this treaty, given by the Archivio Storico Italiano, ser. I, vol. XV, p. 269, is taken from the Archiv. delle Reformagioni di Firenze, Classe XI, Dist. III, no. 53, Cartapecore, t. 40, p. CXXII.

142. Ammirato, Istorie Fiorent., t. V, p. 456.

143. Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diar., p. 45 ; Ammirato, ubi supra.

144. Opere, vol. V, p. 194.

city. After our agreement had taken place, they concluded from it, he added, that we, and not they, had our wish fulfilled, and that our coming this way had been to our advantage, but to their detriment. They set to work to deprive us of the benefit, to irritate your Seigniory and to disturb our accord, by perpetrating all those ravages, which we could not prevent, partly because we could not be in every place, and partly, we confess, because we were displeased at not receiving our pay, as it had been agreed upon even in writing.

ARTICLE VIII. — CESAR GOES AGAINST JACOPO APPIANO, LORD OF PIOMBINO.

Jacopo IV Appiano was the lord or papal Vicar of Piombino, against which the Duke, Cesar de Borgia, led his troops when leaving the territory of Florence. He tyrannized his subjects [145], and paid no attention to his suzerain, the Pope. As soon as he heard of the approach of the threatening army, he laid waste, with fire and sword, his own surrounding country [146], and, with a garrison of Corsican soldiers, shut himself up in his strongly fortified city.

The Duke arrived in the district on the 4th of June, 1501 [147], and soon captured Suvereto and Scarlino ; and, with the help of a fleet sent to him from Rome, took possession also of the islands of Elba and Pianosa [148]. He invested Piombino, but was obliged to abandon the siege, and to join the French army, that had advanced already into Tuscany, on its march to the conquest of Naples. Leaving

145. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 64.
146. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 248.
147. Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 456 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diar., p. 44.
148. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 194 ; Nadi, ubi supra.

the conquered places and all further operations against the city in charge of his captains, Vitellozzo Vitelli and Gianpaolo Baglione [149], he set out for Rome, which he entered secretly and stealthily remained in the apostolic palace [150], until he went, on the 9th of July, along with the French general, d'Aubigny, for the Southern kingdom.

Pandolfo Petrucci of Siena had been hired to reenforce Vitelli and Baglione before Piombino, and the siege was so vigorously pressed that Jacopo Appiano found it advisable to flee by water to Leghorn, on the 7th of August, and from there went, but in vain, to implore the help of king Louis XII. On the 3d of September, the city surrendered and, shortly after, also the fortress [151], while Cesar de Borgia was still in the kingdom of Naples. The news that Piombino had returned to the domain of the Church was brought to Rome on the 10th, and many shots were fired from the castle of Sant' Angelo in token of rejoicing [152].

In the month of February, 1502, pope Alexander VI visited Piombino together with the duke of Romagna, whom he there invested as Vicar also of this new acquisition [153].

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149. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 654 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 406.

150. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 144.

151. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 252 ; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 456 ; Balan, ubi supra.

152. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 163.

153. Atti e Memor. Moden., t. IV, p. 379.

CHAPTER XI.

Punishment of the Colonna and Savelli, etc. barons.

The expedition of king Louis XII against Naples had retarded the capture of Piombino, but pope Alexander VI eventually profited by it, to put an end to the continuous rebellions of the Colonna, the Savelli and of their adherents, who, opposed to their sovereign, the Pontiff, also on this occasion, had left unprotected their possessions in the Pontifical States, to join the forces of the king of Naples and, together with him, confront the French in Southern Italy. When, in May, 1501, these disloyal barons heard of the accord between France and Spain in regard to the Neapolitan kingdom, they justly apprehended the loss and ruin of their territories ; and, as a desperate means of preservation, offered to place them in the hands of the College of Cardinals and to deliver to them the keys of their castles and fortresses ; but the Pope strongly opposed this proposal, and commanded that all the Colonna and Savelli possessions should be committed to himself, or else he would punish their present owners. The Barons, fearing the French more than the papal troops, submitted to his will [1].

As soon as the Colonna and the Savelli had handed their keys to him, the Pope sent the Auditor general of the apostolic chamber to take possession of several of their towns. A few of these, like Amelia and Rocca di Papa, shut their gates to him [2] ; but their resistance was of short duration. When, on

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1. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 143; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 3, vol. VII, p. 657 ; Aa passim.
2. Civiltà Cattol., ubi supra ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, P. I, s. 237 ; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 552.

the 22d of June, cardinal Franciscus de Borgia came, with commissaries and troops from Rome, to receive the obeisance of the Colonnese cities, Rocca di Papa, as well as all the other places, readily submitted without any further opposition, and accepted papal garrisons [3]. Their submission to the immediate government of the Church was so willing and unanimous, that many of them were later rewarded by special privileges and immunities. So was Rocca di Papa exempted from the tax on salt, on the 22d of August, 1501 [4]. Rocca Priora [5], Civita Lavina [6], Nemi [7] and the Castellum Anticoli Corradi [8] and Pillii [9] received likewise a similar favor on the same day, and the town of Anagni, on the 22d of September [10].

On the 23d of June, about twenty officials of the Colonnese towns, one of each place, gathered in Rome, to do homage to the Pope, who admitted them to his presence and presented to each one a gold ducat and a pair of stockings adorned with his arms [11].

By the end of June, 1501, nearly every city and town of the Colonna and Savelli possessions was happy under the quiet government of the Apostolic Chamber. Marino was the only place not welcome to the new administration, because it had been the usual assembling camp of the Colonnese soldiers, who had so often distressed the Roman people. At a gathering of the City's council, it was decided that Marino should be destroyed [12], and the French general, d'Aubigny, executed the decree, when, a few days later, on his march to Naples,

3. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 146, 156 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 454; Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 175 ; Christophe, ubi supra, p. 553.
4. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Div. Camer. 1501-1503. Lib. V. Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 38.
5. Ibid., f° 95.
6. Ibid., f° 130vo.
7. Ibid., f° 140.
8. Ibid., f° 159vo.
9. Ibid., f° 168.
10. Ibid., f° 198vo.
11. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 148 ; Ranke, Geschichten, s. 141.
12. Burchard, ibid., p. 151.

he ruined and burned down not only Marino, but also Cavi, Montefortino and other Colonnese places [13].

The Pontiff took great interest in the cities that had recently come under his administration. On Tuesday, the 27th of July, he left Rome to solemnly visit several of them, in spite of rainy weather. After dinner, he took a boat ride on the lake of Castelgandolfo, while the people, gathering along the shores, manifested their joy by acclamations of Borgia, Borgia ! and by the firing of cannon. He went to Rocca di Papa the following Thursday, returning to Castelgandolfo at night. The 30th, he proceeded to Genzano, and to Sermoneta, the next day. He had returned as far as Frascati on the 5th of August, and reentered Rome that same evening [14].

On the 28th of June, the kings of France and of Spain had bound themselves by treaty with pope Alexander VI, not to harbor in their States either the Colonna or the Savelli ; but to persecute them with all their might [15] ; and this, moreover, had, soon after, been specially enjoined upon d'Aubigny, through a supplementary agreement of king Louis XII with the Pontiff [16]. By the end of that month, the rebellious barons were completely defeated by the French and by the papal troops under Cesar de Borgia, and had retired to the island of Ischia, together with king Frederic of Naples [17]. Should the Pope see fit to confiscate their territories in the Pontifical States, and otherwise to punish them for their disloyalty, he would not incur the danger of being compelled to revoke again, to his own detriment and dishonor, the sen-

13. Civiltà Cattol., ser. III, t. VII, p. 657 ; Christophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 553 ; Burchard, ubi supra. d'Aubigny took and savagely devastated these places, as belonging to the Colonna barons, but the Pope complained and reclaimed them from Louis XII, as being part of the Pontifical States.

14. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 153, 155, 156.

15. Document 65; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Osterr. 1501, 28 Juny.

16. Paris, Bibl. Nation. 28. Collection Dupuy, f° 17.

17. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 3, vol. VII, p. 657.

tence which, already on the 6th of October, 1494, he had rendered against them [18].

Ever since, as well as before their first condemnation, the conduct of the Savelli and of the Colonna had been, and just now was such, that public justice and decency demanded of the Pope that he should be patient no longer, and inflict upon them the penalties deserved by their continual rebellion.

Emboldened by the advent of the French, pope Alexander VI had recently declared forfeited to the Apostolic Chamber the Savelli castle of Poggio, because of non-payment of the census [19], and, on the 5th of August, 1501, he had summarily dismissed, as marshal of the Roman court, Troylus Savelli, who had assisted other rebels in making depredations on territories of the Church, and who had counterfeited papal money [20].

On the 20th of August, 1501, he issued against the Roman barons, the Colonna and the Savelli, his bull, " Sacri apostolatus ministerio ", in which he recounted their many public offenses and treacheries against their sovereigns, the Roman Pontiffs, especially against himself. Already pope Boniface VIII called the Colonna house an insipid fig-tree. Sixtus IV hired them to defend him against Ferdinand, king of Naples ; but, after receiving their pay, they deserted the Pope to join his enemy, and entertained on their lands the King's oldest son, who was besieging Rome. Sixtus was compelled to make war on his rebels, but his unexpected death saved them from ruin.

Since the election of pope Alexander VI they had almost constantly been inciting his subjects to rebellion, had harbored rebels, murderers and other malefactors of the Pontifical

18. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana. Cod. 1045, f° 219 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 189.

19. Paris, Archiv. Nation., Lib. 378. Arm. Caps. 2 no. 3.

20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. IV ad XI, t. IV. Regest. 882, f° 328.

States, just as they had received and protected the assassins of the bishop of Aquila, at the time of pope Innocent VIII. They had coined false money and circulated it in Rome. Of late years they had treacherously captured the papal fortress of Ostia and caused great scarcity of food in Rome. The Pope had liberated Prospero Colonna from prison, under the sworn condition that he restore the fortress or return to detention ; but, when at liberty again, Prospero did neither one thing nor the other. Finally, the Pontiff was obliged to besiege and, at great expense, to forcibly recapture Ostia. Quite recently they had made war on their Sovereign and taken the cities of Anagni and Nocera, killing many people and stealing precious goods destined to sacred uses, and they had compelled him to undergo the disgrace of concluding an armistice with them and their accomplices, the Savelli, who had also committed many crimes in the papal city of Viterbo. And now that the kings of France and of Spain had sent their troops to reclaim the kingdom of Naples and, together with the Pope, to wage war on the cruel Turks, the Colonna and the Savelli had joined king Frederic, the ally of the Infidels, and they had boasted of admitting the Turks themselves within their territories, to assail the powers of Christendom.

In the second part of his bull the Pontiff declares that he cannot allow all those misdeeds to pass unnoticed, but is in conscience bound to punish them. He then with the unanimous consent and advice of all the cardinals in Rome, fulminates the sentence of excommunication against the members of the Colonna and of the Savelli families, and deprives them of all their titles, rights and privileges and of all their cities, territories and possessions, declaring these to be confiscated. He further states that he has already taken possession of most of their castles and places, partly with the consent of some of the Colonna and of the Savelli who acknowledged their former

wrongs. He also declares that he will dispose of them as he shall deem most convenient [21].

Whether the bull's provision for its promulgation was observed at once we could not assure, but Burchard [22] tells us that, on the 24th of the following September, the document was affixed to the doors of St. Peter's church. Balan [23] writes that the excommunication and deprivation of the Colonna were pronounced in the consistory of this latter date, and that special orders were published, intended for the ruin of the rebellious barons.

Several errors have been committed on the occasion of this bull in regard to cardinal John Colonna [24]. von Reumont says well that he remained free from the sentence of excommunication, yet lost his feudal tenures; but he incorrectly adds that he was also bereaved of his ecclesiastical benefices [25]. The Civiltà Cattolica is wrong in copying him [26]. Gregorovius mistakes when he says [27] that Subiaco was among the towns offered by the Colonna to the safe-keeping of the Sacred College. The Colonna never had any right to this place, but their brother, the cardinal, was its commendatory abbot. Christophe [28] errs twice when he asserts that cardinal Colonna spontaneously resigned the abbey of Subiaco, and that the Pope turned its territories into a majorat for the Borgia house. The truth is that the Pope deprived the cardinal of it [29] and declared it vacant. He afterwards bestowed it unimpaired upon Aloys de Aspris, a canon of Palermo [30].

21. See Document 171.
22. Diar., t. III, p. 164.
23. Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 406.
24. Cardinal John Baptist Savelli was dead since Sept. 8, 1489.
25. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III. Theil I, s. 237.
26. Ser. 3, vol. VII, p. 657.
27. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 454.
28. Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 552.
29. Burchards reports (Diarium, t. III, p. 143) that, on the 15th of June, 1501, the Pope sent armed men to take possession of the castle and abbey of Subiaco and of eighteen fortresses, dependencies of the abbey; and that all of them surrendered without any opposition.
30. Cronaca Sublacensis, Edit. Mirzii, p. 526.

The facts are plainly set forth in the papal bull [31] : Cardinal John Colonna is not mentioned among his excommunicated relatives ; but his castles and all his secular possessions are, like theirs, declared to be confiscated. Yet, the Pontiff, willing to be lenient with him, allows him to retain his cardinalitial dignity, his churches and all his ecclesiastical benefices, with the sole exception of the abbey of Subiaco, because of its well known temporal importance.

The cardinal, who had left the papal court and gone to Naples with his brothers, remained with them in Sicily [32] and did not reappear in Rome before the death of pope Alexander VI.

By a bull of the 17th of September, 1501, the Pope also confiscated from the habitual accomplices of the Savelli and of the Colonna, namely, from Augustin d'Estouteville the town of Frascati and the tenure of Montisalti ; from the Poianos the castle of Pedisluci ; Nonna and Roccagorga from Raymund de Mahentia ; and all their possessions from the sons of the late Jerome d'Estouteville [33].

A portion of the Savelli's domain became a possession of their antogonists, the Orsini, loyal at the time to their Sovereign. The Pope granted to Gianpaolo Orsini the places of Aspera, Montedasula and Rochetta, as a temporal Vicariate ; and the castles of Cantalupe, Crotoni, Statiani and Forani, as an increase of his baronial patrimony [34].

After striking his blow at the rebellious barons, pope Alexander VI found among them a few individuals not unworthy of his kindness. He continued to grant to Catherine Colonna, widow of Deiphobus de Anguillara, a monthly sub-

31. Docum. 171, in fine.
32. Jovius, Vita Magni Consalvi, Lib. II, p. 230 ; Brandolinus Lippus. ap. Röm. Quartalschr. Bd. II, s. 202.
33. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXII, 242 : Acta contra Principes.
34. Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 1045, f° 269.

sidy of fifteen gold ducats [35]. He also took pity on Bartholomea Savelli in her indigence, and conceded, for her lifetime, a monthly pension of fifteen ducats, wherewith to support her family, according to her rank [36]. By a bull of the 10th of May, 1503, signed also by the members of the Sacred College, he bestowed upon Franciscus Colonna, who had given up his rights to the places of Palestrina, Passarano and Penne, a yearly income of six hundred ducáts, payable to him and to his male descendants forever [37] ; but, by a special order of the 1st of July, he modified this concession, so that Franciscus Colonna should receive forty, and his brother, Peter Colonna, ten ducats every month [38].

The Colonna and the Savelli, with their associate barons, returned to their former estates, as soon as pope Alexander VI had died, and avenged themselves by slandering his memory.

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35. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Divers. Cam. 1495-1497. Lib. II, Armar. 29, no. 51, f° 150vo ; Rome Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1500, f° 75.

36. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. : 1501-1503. Lib. V, Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 118vo.

37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 194.

38. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502-1508. Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 69vo.

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CHAPTER XII.

Capture of Urbino and of Camerino.

ARTICLE I. — PAPAL DESIGN AGAINST CAMERINO.

By the commencement of the year 1502, pope Alexander VI had effectively freed himself for all time from the rebellions and assaults of the powerful barons of his province South and East of Rome ; and had, through the intermediary of cardinal Franciscus de Borgia, practically brought their former territories under his own direct authority and administration. But there was at that time in the Northern parts of the Pontifical States, one of his vassals, Julius Cesar Varano, his secular Vicar of the city and district of Camerino, whose conduct was such as to defiantly call for the execution of the sentence of excommunication and of deprivation of his office and rights, which had been pronounced anew against him on the 1st day of the last month of March.

Julius Varano was a man of no moral worth. In the year 1464, he had poisoned his own brother, Rudolfo [1] ; he was raising lawful and illegitimate children at the same time ; and, to the scandal and indignation of his subjects, he compelled a noble lady to exile herself, in order to escape his licentious importunities [2].

The people of Camerino were, since many years, suffering under his arbitrary sway, which was a succession of extortions,

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1. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 408.

2. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. IX, p. 561, refer. to Lilii, Hist. di Camerino. P. 2, p. 219.—He was the father of the Blessed Franciscan nun Baptista or Camilla Varano ; but he earned in her santification the deserts of the persecutors of the martyrs. Ibid., p. 567.

and perfidies, sacrilegious robberies and murders [3]. As he was growing old, they had also to bear with the insolent behavior of his haughty and dissolute sons, Annibal, Venantius, Pirro and Giovanmaria, who, unreproved by their sire, were the real masters of the city. We shall presently notice how the Camertines took revenge by betraying their tyrants in the hour of need [4].

Not finding at home sufficient prey to satisfy his rapacity, Julius Varano made more than once predatory incursions into adjoining territories of the Church, with the assistance of the " banditi " of Sanseverino and Perugia and of other rebels of the Pontifical States, who were all welcome and harbored at his court [5].

Although an official of the Pope, he did not recognize his Sovereign, nor did he pay him the annual census or tribute nor other moneys collected in his name [6]. In the month of August, 1496, he owed to the Apostolic Chamber the accumulated sum of thirteen thousand three hundred and forty-nine ducats. Required to pay and summoned before the papal court, he disdained to make an answer. He was then excommunicated and condemned by the Supreme Roman tribunal to the loss of his office and to the payment of ten thousand ducats. This sentence did not disturb the old sinner, confident as he was that the Pope was unable to force its execution. When afterwards, however, he learned that pope Alexander VI was on friendly terms with the French king, and was hiring troops to reduce his refractory vassals of Romagna, he commenced to feel insecure, and applied for

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3. Ronchini, ap. Atti e Memorie... per l'Emilia, Nuova Ser., t. I, p. 63, from the Archiv. di Stato in Parma.

4. Matarazzo, Cronaca, ap. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 298, 299; Lilii, ubi supra, p. 247 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. IX, p. 561, refer. to Litta, Famiglie Celebri ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 409.

5. Balan, ubi supra ; Ronchini, ap. Atti e Memor... per le Provincie del' Emilia, Nuova Ser., t. I, p. 45.

6. Balan, ubi supra, p. 408.

a compromise with his suzerain, alleging his age and infirmities as excuses, and shifting his wrongs upon his children. His request, supported by the intercession of the Venetian Seigniory, was readily granted. The indebtedness had now accrued to fifteen thousand ducats ; but the Pontiff contented himself with five thousand in ready money and five thousand payable by secured installments, and generously applied the remainder to the satisfaction of various pretended counterclaims. On the 28th of June, 1499, he absolved Julius Varano from all ecclesiastical censures and restored him and his heirs to the office of governor of Camerino and to all his former rights [7].

The Pope's magnanimity made no impression upon the heart of the old insubordinate, who rather grew worse than better. He, soon after, held in Camerino a conventicle with the duke of Urbino, the lords of Senigallia and of Pesaro and the city council of Fano, to oppose the expected movements of Cesar de Borgia, the papal Captain General, against the disloyal tyrants of Romagna [8].

Obliged as he was by his oath of office to protect travelers on the public roads of his district, he continued to encourage and harbor highway robbers and murderers. With his assent, a certain Philip de Arcionibus, whom the Pontiff had commissioned as guardian of the fort of Gualdo, coined false money and despoiled merchants passing by that place. One day he took more than thirty mules, laden with cloth and other goods destined for the papal court, keeping for himself a portion of the plunder, and sending the other to his accomplice, Julius Varano. He was ordered to give up his office, but boldly refused to obey and, strong with the advice and

7. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, Lib. I. Regest. 867, f° 87 ; Lilii, Hist. de Camerino, p. 247 ; Archiv. della Soc. Roman. di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 106, footn.

8. Amiani, Memorie di Fano, p. 77.

assistance, which Varano had given him, he put to death several of the men that he had captured [9].

The old reprobate himself continued his armed robberies and, at the end of the year 1500, together with the Colonna and the Savelli, he occupied for several months the papal city of Nocera, where he plundered houses, churches and convents, and committed murders and other crimes [10].

Pope Alexander VI, unable to suffer any longer so much iniquity and, as Sovereign of Camerino, obliged to stop and punish as soon as possible the tyranny, crimes and daring rebellions of Julius Varano, he denounced, before the sacred consistory, the long series of his misdeeds and, with the consent and advice of the cardinals present, he declared him, on the 1st of March, 1501, guilty of perjury and sacrilege, of rebellion and lese majesty and struck him with major excommunication, deprived him of his office and all former rights, and confiscated all his possessions [11].

The Pontiff was anxious to carry out his sentence, but the captain of his army was engaged in other military expeditions, while he himself was occupied with the still more pressing subversion of the Colonna and Savelli barons. The following Winter, however, saw the Pope busily at work to make ready for war against Julius Varano, enlisting soldiers and preparing arms [12]. He spent thirteen thousand ducats in buying from Frederic, the former king of Naples, all his artillery with its ammunition, which was solemnly introduced into the castle of Sant' Angelo on the 28th day of May [13].

Nor was the lord of Camerino unaware of the threatening danger. He dispatched his youngest son, Giovanmaria, to

9. Docum. 172 ; Rochini, ap. Atti. e Memor. per le Prov. dell' Emilia, Nuov. Ser., Vol. I, p. 45.

10. Document 172 ; Rochini, ubi supra, Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 408.

11. See Document 172.

12. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532 ; 1501, Nov. 20 ; Dec. 22, 1502, Jan. 21 ; Febr. 12, etc.

13. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 207.

request the assistance of Venice, and a trusted man to hire troops even in Rome. This agent, being apprehended, admitted, under the influence of the rack, that his master was unable to resist without the help of neighboring lords, and said that the Varano were better supplied with provisions by the friends of the duke of Valentinois than by their own subjects. Yet, who might be the lords thus to lend him aid remained a vexatious puzzle for the Roman authorities [14].

By the beginning of June, 1502, the papal condottieri : the Captain General, Cesar de Borgia ; the barons, Paulus and Julius Orsini ; Vitellozzo Vitelli, lord of Citta di Castello ; the duke of Gravina, Franciscus Orsini [15], Michelotto da Cariglia, and others were ready for action; and, on the 1st day of that month, the Pontiff named commissary of the army his cousin, Francis Lloris, bishop of Elna [16].

Vitellozzo Vitelli and Gianpaolo Baglione were in Citta di Castello and from there went, with Piero de' Medici, to Arezzo in Tuscany, where they arrived on the 7th of June, having been called by the people, who had on the 4th, revolted against the government of Florence [17]. According to Burchard [18], it was, on the 8th, announced to the Pope, that Vitellozzo Vitelli had taken Borgo San Sepolcro, a Florentine city, in the name of the duke of Valentinois. Thereupon Raynaldi [19] establishes his insinuation that Cesar de Borgia aimed at the possession of Tuscany. But it must be observed that Vitellozzo was, at the time, the condottiere, not of Cesar, but of the Pope, who was displeased at his disturbing the Florentines [20], and

14. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 16.
15. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1501-1503, fiis 117vo, 119ro and vo.
16. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secretar., an. IV ad VIII. Lib. VI. Regest. 872, f° 93.
17. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 278.
18. Diar., t. III, p. 211.
19. Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1502, no. XII.
20. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 50.

soon ordered the restitution of the captured cities. Cesar himself, just then, refused to accept Pisa, an important place of Tuscany. To confirm his suspicions, Raynaldi introduces here a proposition of Ferdinand of Spain,—not of the Pope nor of Cesar—to make the duke of Valentinois king of Tuscany and of Romagna. But this suggestion was offered on a much later occasion. In truth, Vitellozzo had acted without orders, from personal hatred and vindictiveness. Chas. Yriarte, though hostile to all popes, agrees that Alexander VI had good right to say that he had nothing to do with Vitellozzo's agression [21].

Michelotto da Cariglia, captain of the infantry, had already left Rome, when, on the 5th, the artillery was being moved [22].

The departure of the duke of Valentinois may have been somewhat retarded by the arrival in Rome, on the 10th, of an envoy with letters, notifying him of his appointment by the Pisans as Lord of their city and requesting him to accept them as his loyal subjects [23]. The duke, provoked against the Florentines by the refusal of his pay, agreed upon the previous year, had taken under his protection these rebellious vassals of the Florentine republic [24] ; yet, as the Church had no right to that place, the Pope declared before the next following consistory, that the people of Pisa had several times offered to raise the ducal standard; but that neither he nor the duke Cesar had ever allowed them to do so [25].

Finally, on the 12th of June [26], Cesar de Borgia left Rome for Spoleto, where his army of seven hundred men-at-arms and six thousand foot were camping, while two thousand more men from Romagna, one from each home, were still to

21. Les Borgia, t. II, p. 76.
22. Villari, ubi supra.
23. Such was his renown of honesty and growing power.
24. Machiavelli, Il Principe, Cap. VII, p. 36.
25. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 279 ; Villari, ubi supra, pp. 22, 25.
26. Alvisi, ibid., p. 280. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 285, gives the 13th

arrive [27]. He remained a few days in Spoleto, after sending, as a vanguard into the Camerino district, a large part of his infantry, together with the troops of the duke of Gravina, Franciscus Orsini, whom he had appointed his lieutenant, till he should rejoin him [28].

ARTICLE II. — CAPTURE OF THE DUCHY OF URBINO.

Meanwhile the bishop of Elna had forwarded to Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, letters of the Pontiff, requiring him to procure free passage to fifteen hundred infantrymen from Romagna and to the papal artillery, which, to avoid the mountain roads, was to pass through Gubbio, Cagli and Sassoferrato. Guidobaldo dispatched to him at once his secretary, Dolce Lotti, to promise that he would do all that was demanded of him [29]. Yet, before the duke of Valentinois left Spoleto, he was informed that Guidobaldo had mobilized his troops for the assistance of Camerino ; but he was unwilling to believe that the duke of Urbino would be so false to the promises he had made to His Holiness [30]. From Spoleto he proceeded to Foligno, and, by a letter of the 21st, he informed the Pope that here he had detained a chamberlain of the lord of Camerino, who had admitted that the only hope of the Varano was placed in the duke of Urbino, from whom they were receiving soldiers and provisions [31].

Thereupon, strongly suspecting the loyalty of Guidobaldo, Cesar went on to Nocera, where he succeeded in apprehending an official of Urbino, who confessed to him that his Duke

27. Villari, ubi supra, p. 26 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 280, 282.
28. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 89.
29. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 280.
30. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 33 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 409.
31. Villari and Balan, ibid.

had given orders to surprise and capture the papal artillery, when it should pass by Gubbio, under a small guard that would be unsuspecting, after the promises which Guidobaldo had given [32]. Cesar de Borgia was at last convinced of the treachery of the duke of Urbino, and took measures not to become his dupe.

Sigismondo of Foligno, however, shows, great animosity against the Pope and his captain, on this occasion, although he admits that Guidobaldo was betrayed by his own subjects [33]; and several modern historians, like Gregorovius [34] and Pastor [35] pretend Guidobaldo di Montefeltro to have been an innocent victim of Cesar de Borgia's alleged perfidy.

Ugolini [36] represents him as an abused benefactor of the Church. He had, it is true, in years gone by, served for pay in the pontifical army; but, more than other papal vassals he had shown himself independent of his sovereign. For eight successive years he had refused to pay the tribute due to him, and in the year 1499, he owed to the papal treasury the sum of then thousand seven hundred and twenty ducats. After Cesar de Borgia's first successes in his vicinity, Guidobaldo sought a composition with the Pontiff, who, on the 11th of January, 1500, absolved him from the ecclesiastical censures incurred, admitted all his counterclaims and generously contended himself with the payment of two thousand and five hundred ducats in coin and eleven hundred and seventy in secured promises [37].

Ugolini ignores the fact that the court of Urbino had long been an asylum open to all malefactors and rebels of the Pontifical States [38], and that Guidobaldo had sent troops for

32. Villari, ibid.
33. Le Storie dei suoi Tempi, t. II, pp. 251, 253.
34. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 237.
35. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 460, refer. to Dennistoun and others, and to a letter of Guidobaldo himself published by Alvisi.
36. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 87.
37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Armar. 29, no. 53, fiis 41, 42vo.
38. Ranke, Geschichten, s. 150.

the defence of Pesaro, when its lord, the ally of the Turks, was threatened by the papal troops in the year 1500 [39]. He forgets the late plot of Camerino against the designs of the Pope and of his captain general, but asserts that the duke of Urbino had never injured Cesar de Borgia ; nay, what is more, had, just now, sent a part of his artillery to Cesar's camp [40]. Buonaccorsi further tells that Guidobaldo had deprived himself not only of his artillery but also of his available troops in favor of the duke of Valentinois, when the latter suddenly assailed him [41].

Alvisi, however, justly remarks that those authors are sufficiently refuted by the letter, just mentioned, of Cesar to the Pope [42], which is confirmed by a dispatch of ambassador Costabile, sent on the 25th of June, 1502, to Ercole, duke of Ferrara, wherein it is stated that the bishop of Ischia had taken a prisoner who had acknowledged that the duke of Urbino had ordered five hundred men to Camerino and was contriving to capture the artillery of His Excellency, the duke of Valentinois [43]. Lilli [44] relates that when Guidobaldo, shortly after, complained of the duke of Valentinois to Louis XII in Milan, the French king refused to admit his excuses for not lending his artillery at the siege of Camerino; and Sansovino, who hates the Borgias, adds, furthermore, that the French monarch approved of Cesar's hostilities against him, because, if it had been possible, he would have seized the artillery of the Pope on its way to Camerino ; and, he dismissed the duke of Urbino without granting any further audience [45].

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39. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 86.
40. Ugolini, Storia d'Urbino, t. II, pp. 87, 89.
41. Diar., p. 58.
42. Cesare Borgia, p. 283, footn. 1.
43. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 409.
44. Dell' Hist. di Camerino, p. 263.
45. Il Re quasi che acconsentisse all' opposition fatta a Guido Baldo che havesse voluto occupar l'artiglierie ch' andavano per nome del Pontefice à espugnar Camerino : Casa Orsina, p. 129vo.

Guidobaldo himself, when reporting to cardinal Giuliano della Rovere his flight to Mantua, does not accuse Cesar de Borgia of having deprived him of his artillery and troops, but only complains of having been deceived by the friendly and reassuring relations of the Pontiff and of the duke of Valentinois. And yet, these relations were truthful and sincere and lasted till his treachery was discovered, as is evident from the commencement of Guidobaldo's own report and from Cesar's letter to the Pope, which he concludes by an apology for proceeding against Urbino without the Pontiff's knowledge or any order from him, alleging that the duke's treachery was so enormous that he had been unable not to resent it [46].

On the 22d of June, pope Alexander VI believed that Cesar de Borgia had gone from Nocera to Camerino [47]; but this was not the case; for, after hearing the admissions of the Urbino official, Cesar resolved to attack Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, and at once ordered his most expeditious troops to march in all haste against the cities of Cantiano and Cagli, in the territory of Urbino; and he himself followed them closely. These places readily opened their gates on the 20th, and Cesar was proclaimed their lord [48]. Hardly had the soldiers taken their meal and a short rest, when they were ordered forward again, some towards Mondavio and other localities of the

46. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 529, 285. Guidalbo remained as he was. Pope Julius II also called him a traitor. (Villari, Disp., vol. III, p. 239).—Page 209 of the IIId Volume of Burchard's Diary is evidently an interpolation. The tale of how Cesar de Borgia deceived the duke of Urbino is simply unhistorical and ludicrous; and his story of Roman harlots taken, on the 21st of June, on a voyage from the City, by two high dignitaries of the Church, is, at best, a false hearsay (Burchard farther adds: "Subjungebant alii..... " more unlikely stories); as it is proved by the tale itself, joining with the two prelates the duke of Valentinois, who was on that very day at a distance of a hundred miles, capturing the city of Urbino.

47. Villari, Dispacci, t. I, p. 29.

48. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 89; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 282; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 409.

duchy, but the greater number, with Cesar at their head, to the city of Urbino itself, only fifteen miles distant [49].

In the evening of the 20th, Guidobaldo was leisurely enjoying supper out of town, when he was suddenly disturbed by a swift courier of Fossombrone, and, soon after, by another, who informed him that Cagli was taken by the duke of Valentinois, and that he would be at the gates of Urbino ere the sun would rise again. The frightened prince immediately called the members of his city council, and these advised him to take to flight. At ten o'clock, that same evening, he was on horseback, together with his nephew, the twelve-year-old son of the late lord of Senigallia, Giovanni della Rovere, and a few attendants. Arrived in St. Agatha, he sent his nephew, across the Florentine territory, to his uncle, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who was in Savona [50], and, disguised as a peasant, succeeded in reaching Ravenna, then Mantua, where he met Elisabeth, his wife, and was afterwards cordially received in Venice, to the displeasure of the Pontiff [51].

When nearing Urbino, Cesar de Borgia was met by a deputation of its inhabitants, who told him of the flight of their duke, and offered him their city, which he peaceably entered on the 21st of June, 1502 [52]. He interned in the fortress Dolce Lotti and a few more of Guidobaldo's best friends, as hostages for his own security and lasting peace, and made a solemn proclamation, commanding all citizens to go about their business, and forbidding his soldiers to molest any of the people. When told that Guidobaldo's personal effects were being ransacked and stolen, he sent his troops to camp

49. Ugolini, ubi supra.

50. Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 252; Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 266; Ugolini, ubi supra. He did not take him along to Venice, as told by Siena, Storia di Sinigaglia, p. 146.

51. Villari, Dispacci de Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 129.

52. Ugolini, ubi supra, p. 91; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 409.

in the neighboring town of Fermignano, prohibiting them under pain of death to enter the city again [53].

Nearly all the other places of the duchy of Urbino took the example of the capital, sent delegates to Cesar and swore fidelity to him [54]. " You know ", Cesar afterwards said to Machiavelli, " that I took this duchy in three days, without touching a hair on a man's head, with the exception of Mr. Dolce and two others, who has been active against His Holiness, Our Lord ; and, what is more, I retained as officials of the State, many of its prominent citizens " [55]. This latter act proved, however, before long, to have been as imprudent as magnanimous.

The Pope must, soon after the acquisition of Urbino, have named the duke of Valentinois and of Romagna also duke of this city ; for among other documents in which Cesar makes use of this title, there is one of the 15th of July, 1502 [56].

ARTICLE III. — MISUNDERSTANDING WITH FLORENCE.

In the meantime Vitellozzo Vitelli, who had, in the name of Piero de' Medici, taken from the Florentines the city of Arezzo, was intent upon doing them all the harm he could, in revenge of his brother, Paolo, whom they had beheaded in the year 1499 [57]. On the 17th of June, he captured the fortress of Arezzo, where he imprisoned the city's governor, bishop de Pazzi ; but was obliged by the Pope to restore him to liberty. He successively occupied also Cortona and the whole valley of the Chiano, Anghiari, Borgo San Sepolcro and several other

53. Ugolini, ibid., Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 286 ; Dennistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, vol. I, p. 394.

54. Ugolini, ibid.

55. Machiavelli, Legat. al Duca Valent., Opere, vol. V, p. 198.

56. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 296, 535.

57. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 30, n. 1.

places [58]; but he was forbidden to make further conquests, by the lord de Chaumont, in the name of the French king, whom Florence had begged for assistance.

Vitellozzo being at the time one of the condottieri of pope Alexander VI, the Pontiff and his captain, Cesar de Borgia, were considered as the guilty parties by the assailed Republic [59]. The Pope seemed not to be displeased at the events, the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, says ; but denied that he or Cesar had ordered Vittellozzo's acts or consented to them [60], and laid the blame on Vitellozzo, who wanted to revenge his brother's death ; and on the Orsini who wished to reinstate their relative, Piero de' Medici [61]. He even wrote to the former, to make him restore to the Florentines all the territories and cities taken from them, except Borgo San Sepolcro, for which he was willing to pay the fifteen thousand ducats, for the loan of which it had been pledged by pope Eugene IV, and that had never been ceded to them. He offered to place this city in the hands of king Louis XII, who should award it to whom it rightly belonged ; but Florence did not accept his generous proposal [62].

The restitution of the cities taken by Vitellozzo Vitelli had been ordered, but was delayed for various causes. Finally, Cesar de Borgia was directed by the Pontiff to proceed into Tuscany and effectually to give satisfaction to the Florentines. Vitellozzo, who was still holding Arezzo, did not wait for his arrival. On the 1st of August, 1502, he left this city [63], together with Piero de' Medici, and went to his Citta di Castello, displeased with the duke of Valentinois, to whom he had

58. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 279, 281, 293-294 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 410.

59. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 259.

60. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 21, 26, 28, 30, 57, 75 ; Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 278.

61. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 56, 85.

62. Villari, ibid., pp. 74, 75, 77, 93, 100.

63. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 272; Ammirato, Istorie Florentine, p. 462.

been useless during the present campaign, and whom he suspected of evil designs upon his own State [64].

Already on the 25th of June, the Seigniory of Florence had sent to Cesar de Borgia in Urbino a special ambassador, Francesco Soderini, bishop of Volterra, to complain of the acts of his condottiere, and to learn what his further intentions were. Cesar frankly reproved the faithlessness of the Florentines, in refusing to pay for the engagement contracted with them the previous year, and demanded that they should make a change in their government, so that he might feel secure and be able to rely on their promises. He swore that he never had had any knowledge of the plot of Arezzo, and that his other troops had taken no part in it. He had no desire, he added, of taking what belonged to another, since it was his mission, not to tyrannize, but to exterminate tyrants. He admitted, however, that he had been well pleased by Vitellozzo's achievements, because the Florentines could now see their loss [65] in not being united with him ; for, he remarked, had he been their condottiere, no one would have molested them. He further warned the Seigniory that if they did not want him as their friend, they would find him to be their enemy.

The Council of Florence fully discussed the report of their ambassador, but continued to place all their confidence in the protection of the French king, who had just then sent word to Cesar, not to disturb his protegees. On the 9th of July, Soderini had requested that Vitellozzo be ordered out of Tuscany, but he received for answer that this could not be done, before a friendly accord with Florence should be concluded. Then negotiations went on about the former con-

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64. Villari, ubi supra, p. 81.

65. They had to pay thirty thousand ducats to the French king for the restitution of the cities taken from them by Vitellozzo : Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1502, Sep. 4.

ditions of Cesar as condottiere of the Republic, then new stipulations were debated, and finally, Soderini proposed to have all differences and difficulties settled before the Pontiff in Rome. The pourparlers were lengthly and complicated, but nothing was brought to a conclusion. The ambassador had been directed to gain time till the French troops should have arrived ; and, as an adroit politician, succeeded in deluding the ingenuous soldier. He took leave on the 19th of July, and returned to Florence [66].

The settlement of the misunderstanding with Florence and the numerous changes to be made in the government of the duchy of Urbino took up all the time of the duke of Valentinois, and prevented him from personnally conducting his expedition against Camerino, which had been commenced under the direction of Franciscus Orsini, duke of Gravina

ARTICLE IV. — CAMERINO CAPTURED.

The lord of Camerino, Julius Cesar Varano, had gathered all the soldiers of his extensive territory, together with a number of exiles from other localities, such as the Savelli and the Baglioni, reenforced with what help he had received from Urbino and Senigallia ; and was prepared for a strong defence.

Annibal, his son and captain of his army, succeeded, at a first encounter, near San Anatolio, in driving back the papal troops [67] ; but after Cesar had, in the beginning of the month of July, sent a part of his army from Urbino, and

66. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 291-295 ; Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 493-507 ; Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 267.

67. Lilii, Hist. di Camerino. p. 251 ; Alvisi, Cesar Borgia, p. 298.

directed towards Camerino the papal artillery destined for Cività Castellana [68], nearly the whole territory of the Varani was simultaneously assailed and devastated, and many places, among which Seravalle, were sacked and set on fire [69]. The suburb of Camerino itself was taken on the 17th of July [70], and the city was besieged.

The Varani had not the good will of their subjects, Yriarte himself says [71].

The towns of the district had suffered less than Camerino from the tyranny of their masters and, for their defence, they had resigned themselves to the horrors of war ; but the citizens of the capital city, who were tired long since of the vices, exactions and despotic rulings of Julius Varano and of his sons [72], boldly went to tell him that they were unwilling to sacrifice themselves, and that he could do no better than to enter into an agreement with the enemy, who was here represented by Franciscus Orsini. Julius, noticing the mood of his people, could not but accept their advice. Lilii reports the following details. Delegates were selected [73], who went to the hostile camp [74]. Among them was a certain Giovanni Antonio, who made known to Cesar de Borgia's lieutenant the distress of the city and the riots of its inhabitants. In consequence of this information, Franciscus Orsini was not willing to propose any better conditions, than to let the Varani freely depart with their belongings. The negotiators reentered Camerino at night, and, the two following days,

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68. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 48 ; Lilii, Hist. di Camerino, p. 251 ; Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 298.

69. Sansovino, Casa Orsini, p. 129 ; Lilii, ubi supra, p. 254 ; Ugolini, Storia d'Urbino, t. II, p. 88.

70. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 411.

71. Les Borgia, t. II, p. 88.

72. Lilii, Hist. di Camerino, pp. 250, 252.

73. On the 18th : Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 298.

74. At their head was Annibal, Julius oldest illegitimate son : Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 63 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsini, p. 129.

they went to the hostile camp and returned several times [75], together with officials of the duke of Valentinois, to whom they revealed the intention of many citizens, to open a gate to his troops. They even persuaded them to make a sudden assault with their whole army in serried ranks. This proved to be a complete success ; for the revolting citizens and their adherents went out [76], to welcome the papal troops [77].

On the 27th of July, the Pope related to Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, that, while Julius Varano was negotiating with his condottieri, the people of Camerino, before any agreement was concluded, started a revolt, apprehended the lord Julius, his sons and the others who had been arrested, led them to the governor of the papal camp, the bishop of Crema, and delivered them to him, into the power of the duke of Valentinois. " It has thus wonderfully happened for the punishment of those rascals ", he added [78]. He could afterwards write in all truth that the Camertines themselves, of their own free will, had surrendered to him their city with its district and territory [79] ; or, as Giustinian expresses it, the people had placed themselves at the discretion of the duke of Valentinois [80].

Those well attested facts prove Alvisi to be right, when he rebukes [81] Guicciardini for saying [82] that Cesar de Borgia obtained Camerino by deceit. Ranke still asserts [83] that Cesar attracted with fine promises the lord Julius Varano and his sons, and then let them be strangled ; and Grego-

75. Without coming to any accord : Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 298.

76. In the morning of the 20th of July, 1502 : Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 64.

77. Lilii, Hist. di Camerino, p. 250.

78. Villari, ubi supra, p. 72.

79. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, fo 201vo : Cives Camerinenses, tanquam fideles et devoti subditi nostri, nobis se et civitatem Camerinensem ejusque districtum et territorium sponte dederunt.

80. Villari, ubi supra, p. 68.

81. Cesare Borgia, p. 300.

82. Storia d'Ital., Lib. V. Cap. III, p. 35.

83. Geschichten, s. 159.

rovius upholds his master, by saying [84] that Cesar deceived the Varani and then put them to death. Ronchini states [85] that the duke of Valentinois entered Camerino by treacherous means, applying that term to a legitimate revolt of its inhabitants against the tyranny of their oppressors ; but there was no treachery on the part of the duke of Valentinois, who was absent, nor of his lieutenant, the duke of Gravina, who accepted the unconditional surrender from a people who were in possession of supreme power in their city.

A courier was spurring his steed towards Urbino as soon as Camerino's gates swung open, and he carried to Cesar de Borgia the happy news of its acquisition. Without losing a moment's time, Cesar wrote, that same 20th of July, and informed of the event both the Pontiff and his sister Lucretia, the duchess of Ferrara [86]. His letter, transmitted in all haste, reached pope Alexander VI on the 22d, and caused great rejoicing [87]. The surrender of Camerino was celebrated in Rome for three days, by the tolling of the heavy bell of the Capitol, by illuminations and bonfires, and by the firing of cannon and public festivities. The news was confirmed the following day, through a dispatch from the governor of the papal camp, who also informed the Pontiff of the arrest of Julius Cesar Varano, of his sons and of eighteen noblemen, mostly exiled rebels of Perugia and other places, among whom were Pandolfo Malatesta, Trojano Colonna and Carlo Baglione [88].

On the 23d of July, the three oldest sons of the lord of Camerino were led away by Spanish soldiers to La Catholica, between Rimini and Pesaro, and imprisoned in its castle and,

84. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 285.
85. Ap. Atti e Memorie per la Prov. dell' Emilia, Nuov. Ser., t. I, p. 46.
86. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 297.
87. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 65, 68.
88. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 220 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 68 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 300.

two days after, Julius Varano was interned in the fortress of La Pergola in the district of Gubbio. The other captives fared much better, after they had given up themselves to the mercy of their conqueror in Urbino [89]. Some of the Varanos' favorites had, for fear of their fellow citizens, fled to Perugia. They asked the Pontiff's pardon and permission to go to Rome under his protection. The Pope answered them, in his usual clementy : Come and you will be well received, " vengano, chè saranno ben venuti e veduti " [90].

Three months later, on the 9th of October, Julius Varano was put to death by Michelotto da Coriglia [91] ; according to orders given him, it seems, by Cesar de Borgia, who accused him of complicity with his rebellious condottieri [92]. About the same time, Michelotto, fleeing from a battle lost to Cesar's conspiring rebels, passed by La Catholica to Pesaro, and, to leave no evildoers behind, Sansovino says, he also strangled the three oldest Varano brothers [93].

Giovanmaria, the younger legitimate son of Julius Varano, escaped the disastrous lot of his house, by remaining in Venice, where he had been sent to implore the assistance of the Republic.

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89. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 260 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 94 ; Alvisi, ubi supra.

90. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 289-290.

91. Lilii, Historia di Camerino, p 263 ; Archiv. della Società Roman. di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 106, footn.

92. Amiani, Memorie di Fano, t II, p. 85 ; Balan, Storia d'Ital., t. V, p. 411 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. IX, p. 562.

93. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 131vo.

CHAPTER XIII.

Conspiracy of La Magione.

ARTICLE I. — CESAR ACCUSED BEFORE LOUIS XII.

Cesar de Borgia's easy conquest of Urbino and Camerino, crowning his constant successes of the previous years, filled the neighboring princes with envy and with the suspicion that their shortcomings towards their Sovereign and the tyrannical government of their people might, in turn, bring to them misfortune and ruin. This was the apprehension of Gianpaolo Baglione, the companion of Vitellozzo Vitelli in their fruitless attempt against Tuscany, who was offended also because the exiles from Perugia had been liberated by Cesar de Borgia in Urbino. Furthermore, there was a rumor that the Pope intended to give his State of Perugia to the duke of Valentinois [1]. Vitellozzo himself had already been alarmed, when Cesar, to drive him away from Arezzo, had marched towards Citta di Castello, and the principal inhabitants of this city had offered to surrender it to him [2]. The same fear disturbed Giovanni Bentivoglio, who, the year before, had retained Bologna only through the protection of king Louis XII. The Orsini, sorely affected by the failure of restoration of their relative, Piero de' Medici, in Florence, and mindful of their former disloyalties, apprehended that the setting at liberty of their enemies, the Colonna, whom they had themselves arrested in Camerino, was a portent for them of a doom like the one which they had helped to inflict upon the Varani. Besides

1. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 83, 84.
2. Villari, Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca Valentino, Imolae, 7a Octobris, 1502 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 303 and footn. I, ibid.

these lords, Ugolini mentions [3] also Liveroto da Fermo and Pandolfo Petrucci of Siena, as suspecting that the lot of the fallen princes was now awaiting them. There was, indeed, a feeling of insecurity and a consequent spirit of dissatisfaction, towards the duke of Valentinois and the Pope, spreading among all the vassals of the Pontifical States.

The malcontents soon found a favorable occasion for a joint effort to break down the dreaded power.

King Louis XII was, at the time, recognized by all the powers and princes of the Northern half of Italy as the supreme arbiter of their political interests ; his will was law for them, and his friendship, their safeguard or their strength. The King happened to visit his duchy of Milan in the Summer of the year 1502, arriving in Asti on the 7th of July, and in the city of Milan at the end of that month [4]. His court had never been more brilliant than on this occasion. He was accompanied by numerous members of the French nobility and the cardinals George d'Amboise, Giuliano della Rovere, John Baptist Orsini and Frederic Sanseverino ; by the representatives of Florence and Venice and by a great number of lordly vassals of the Pope, who were either expelled already from their dominions or were fearing expulsion.

Cardinal Orsini had, on the 3d of July, asked leave of the Pontiff, to go and meet the French king. He had, on the 8th, obtained with difficulty the requested permission, and left Rome, on the 13th, while cardinal Sanseverino was to follow him soon. He hurried to Asti, together with other adversaries of the Borgias, to make many complaints and charges

3. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 96 ; Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. V, Cap. IV, p. 41.

4. Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 61 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 307.

against the Pope and the captain of his army [5]. Sansovino further relates that, when the King declined his request to take the Orsini barons under his protection, the cardinal grew bold enough to intimate that he and his brothers would take up arms and defend themselves against the duke of Valentinois. The King, Lilii adds, paid little attention to his threat [6]. Giovanni Bentivoglio dispatched his two sons, Annibal and Alexander, to Louis XII, who accepted the money which they offered to him, but promised them no security [7]. Pandolfo Petrucci, a few days later, also presented to the King a sum of ten thousand ducats, to secure his good will [8]. Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, the late duke of Urbino, with his host, the marquis of Mantua, and Giovanni Sforza, the former lord of Pesaro, had many bitter grievances to set forth against the Pope and Cesar de Borgia [9]; but Vitellozzo Vitelli, knowing that he had irritated the French monarch by his raid upon Tuscany, did not venture to appear before him [10]. Cesar's most important accusers were, however, the envoys of the Venetian and the Florentine republics, " who recited before Louis XII a long series of violences and enormous crimes of that monster ". Such is the report of the recent Ugolini [11]; while Machiavelli, officially writing to the Ten of Florence, designates their charges by the name of calumnies [12].

Assailed on all sides by this tempest of angry incriminations, the French king found it proper to dissimulate at first his

5. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 47, 52, 56 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 659. Burchard reports, Diar., t. III, p. 212, that cardinal Orsini was refused an audience on the 12th of July, and left for Milan without papal consent, the following night.

6. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 129vo ; Lilii, Dell' Hist. di Camerino, p. 263.

7. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 127.

8. Villari, Dispacci, col. I, p. 101.

9. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 220.

10. Guicciardini, Storia d'Ital., Lib. V. Cap. IV, vol. II, p. 40.

11. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino. t. II, p. 95.

12. Descrizione del Modo etc. added to Il Principe, p. 235 : " Il duca Valentino era ito a scusarsi con il re Luigi di molte calunnie gli erano state date da' Fiorentini per la ribellione d'Arezzo ".

own feelings. He seemed to be indignant [13] and to side with the Pontiff's and Cesar's enemies, who conceived great hopes of winning their cause ; and it seemed for a while as if the King wanted to revenge the innocent victims [14] !

Pope Alexander VI, a perspicacious and provident statesman, had anticipated the recourse of his vassals and of the hostile republics to the king of France, on the occasion of his arrival in Italy. Warned by the self-will of Vitellozzo and by suspicious murmurings of the Orsini, he sent, about the beginning of July, 1502 [15] his trusted secretary, Francis Troches, to meet the French king and to propose to him, for their mutual benefit, a private accord, of which Alvisi says, the contemporary diplomats never had any knowledge [16]. War had broken out between the French and the Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples, and Louis XII listened eagerly when Troches, in the name of the Pope, offered to assist him with ten thousand troops under the command of the duke of Valentinois. In return, the King promised to help Cesar with three hundred lances, to deprive the Bentivoglios of their power in Bologna, and to submit his disloyal condottieri [17]. On the 31st of July, 1502, the Venetian ambassador had learned a portion of the diplomatic transaction and wrote, the following day, that the Pope had promised to king Louis XII five hundred men-at-arms and two thousand infantry [18], as it is also related by Nardi [19].

This secret treaty fully explains the subsequent conduct of the French king towards Cesar de Borgia.

On the advice of Francis Troches and without asking the

13. Ugolini, ubi supra.
14. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 63, 70 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t V, p. 428.
15. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 47.
16. Cesare Borgia, p. 311. Guicciardini reports already the full contents of the treaty: Storia d'Ital. Lib. V, Cap. IV, p. 40.
17. Alvisi, ibid., pp. 311, 312.
18. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 78, 79.
19. Istorie di Firenze, t. V, p. 272.

consent of the Pontiff [20], the duke of Valentinois suddenly departed from Urbino for Milan, on one of the last days of the month of July. He travelled disguised as a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, with cardinal Franciscus de Borgia, Troches and his agent, Michael Remolino, being his sole companions ; and arrived, on the 28th, in Ferrara [21], where he remained but two hours with his sick sister. On the 6th of August, a letter from Milan had reached Rome, telling how the duke had been honorably received by Louis XII, lodged in the palace and visited in his own quarters by the King, who had shown him great friendship [22] and had given him a guard of two hundred archers, for greater security at his court, that was filled by his enemies.

The King readily admitted Cesar's explanations of the invasion of the Florentine territory by his condottiere Vitellozzo Vitelli, upon whom all the blame was laid. He paid no further attention to other charges made against him, but politely dismissed all his accusers [23]. Between the marquis of Mantua and Cesar he acted, moreover, as a peacemaker, so successfully that a betrothal was concluded between their small children, Louise de Borgia and Frederic Gonzaga [24].

About the middle of August, Louis XII left Milan to return to France. The hopes of the Italian princes revived when they learned that the King was taking along the duke of Valentinois. As they had imagined that the object of the

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20. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 87, 91, 97 ; Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1502, Sep. 4.

21. Villari, ubi supra, p. 86 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 285-286 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 220. The dates, here given by Burchard of Cesar's departure from Rome (!) on the 3d of August, and of his call in Ferrara, on the 24th, are simply impossible; and form, together with the blame of his eating meat on a Friday, a clumsy interpolation of the Diary.

22. Villari, Dispacci, pp. 86, 89: " onorato et accarezzato dal Cristianissimo Re ".

23. Villari, ibid., p. 91.

24. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1502, Sep. 4 ; Villari, ubi supra, pp. 95, 99.

guard given him in Milan was to prevent his escape, so they now fondled the idea that the French king was to intern him in France, and thus grant the wishes of his antagonists [25]. Great was their disappointment, when it became known that, on the 2d of September, Cesar had obtained leave from the King, together with great honors and demonstrations of benevolence, and that he was returning to Romagna by way of Ferrara, where he was to arrive on the 7th, and to stop a few days [26].

ARTICLE II. — THE BENTIVOGLIOS SAVED FROM RUIN.

On the 12th of September, 1502, the duke of Valentinois was already in the neighborhood of Rome, in conference with the Pontiff [27], to whom Louis XII had promised not to place any obstacle whatever in his way of freely dealing with the territories of the Church [28]. Their meeting was highly important, for there it was decided to commence preparations for an attack on the Bentivoglios of Bologna [29]. As little reliance could be placed in the loyalty of the Orsini and others of his hired captains, the Pope proclaimed in Rome an enlistment of condottieri and soldiers who should assemble and receive their pay in the city of Spoleto ; and Cesar de Borgia, who had returned at once to Romagna, increased his army with five thousand infantrymen gathered in that duchy, and he concentrated his troops and his artillery in an around Imola, so as to be nearer to Bologna [30].

The Bentivoglios had, the previous year, escaped, through the protection of the French king, the punishment due to them,

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25. Villari, ibid., pp. 99, 101, 107 ; Guicciardini, Storia d'Ital., Lib. V, Cap. IV, p. 40.
26. Villari, ibid., p. 108 ; Guicciardini, ibid., Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 286.
27. Villari, ibid., p. 114.
28. Id. ibid., p. 110.
29. Guicciardini, Storia d'Ital., Lib. V, Cap. IV, p. 42.
30. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 116, 117, 119, 120.

for their cooperation with the rebel Manfredi, for their wholesale murder of the Bolognese citizens, the Malvezzi and the Marescotti, and for many other crimes ; but they had become aware of being now in greater danger than ever before. Giovanni had sent an envoy to Imola, to find out Cesar's designs, and the duke had told him plainly that, as Captain and Standard-bearer of the Roman Church, he could not but obey the orders of the Pontiff, whose intention it was to deliver Bologna from the tyranny of the Bentivoglios, and to restore peace to the Church and liberty to the people desirous of returning under the quiet rule of the Holy See [31].

The Pope had, indeed, enjoined on Giovanni Bentivoglio and his sons to leave Bologna, and to free that city from the yoke under which they had kept it so long ; or else, to appear before him and to offer their reasons for having neglected to do so [32].

Giovanni observed neither one of these commands, but dispatched to Rome two delegates, whose mission was naturally a failure, and only gave to the Pontiff an opportunity to emphasize his love for the people of Bologna, downtrodden by rapacious and merciless tyrants [33].

Pope Alexander VI had also written to the city council of Bologna a brief dated the 3d of September, 1502, which he delivered only on the 17th, and in which he ordered them, to send to him representatives provided with faculties to agree upon measures, that were to establish peace and happiness in their city, under the administration of the Church [34].

The Bentivoglios feared that their subjects, many of whom they knew to be opposed to them, might listen to the kind words and promises of their Sovereign, or be affected by his

31. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 430.
32. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 122, 134.
33. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 432.
34. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, Docum. LXXVII.

threats; but they found a means of creating a public opinion favorable to themselves and hostile to the Pope and to the dreaded Cesar de Borgia. They invited the people to go and listen, in five churches of the different wards of the city, to hired eloquent speakers, the burden of whose discourses was the great danger of Bologna, in case that the Bentivoglios should leave it, because the ambitious duke of Valentinois would then, like a bird of prey, fall upon it, and build his nest on another's ruins ; but, should the lords remain, the great city would be safe and preserve its ancient liberty [35]. The Pontiff smiled at the shameless reply [36]. By passionate comments the friends and favorites of the Bentivoglios enhanced the effect of the partisan speeches, and soon a crowd of people went to beg their masters to stay in Bologna, and even threatened them with death, should they attempt to leave [37]. Giovanni ordered a notary public to draw up an official record of the demonstration, and, towards the end of September, sent, with the document, three new envoys to Rome [38].

The Pontiff was not deceived by the artifice ; yet, he did not come to a practical conclusion, but prudently left the whole

35. One of the five orators was Floriano Dolfi, who spoke with so much vigor for the Bentivoglios, and so much bitterness against the Borgias, that his oration became a pattern for future historians, and was held fit for publication by the press. Its contents reached the ears of the Pope, who sent him word, that he was wondering how he could have spoken so sharply of one who had been his schoolmate at the University and his old friend? Dolfi admitted that he had opposed him in strong language, but that he was obliged to defend the Bentivoglios, from whom he had received so many and so great benefactions ; but, should he have obtained greater favors from the Pope, he would have spoken more evil than good of them.

36. From Ghirardacci, anno 1502, Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 131, footn. ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 434.

37. On the 16th of August, 1508, the forty councilmen of Bologna resolved to pay to pope Julius II the sum of sixteen thousand ducats, " as a token of gratitude for their deliverance from the tyranny of the Bentivoglios " : Gottlob, Aus der Camera apostolica, s. 225, from Archiv. Bonon., Armar. IV. Caps III, f° 119.

38. Gozzadini, ibid., p. 129 ; Muzzi, ibid., pp. 432, 433 ; Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 126, 134.

matter in suspense, referring it to the further consideration and final decision of a committee of the four cardinals, Anthony Trivulzio, Rafael Riario, Giovanni de' Medici and Giuliano Cæsarini [39].

This discreet concession of pope Alexander VI gave hopes to the Bentivoglios of coming to a satisfactory agreement with him. In the meantime they did not relax in their preparations for resistance ; and sent messengers to request again the protection of Louis XII ; but the King explained his former promises as relating only to the safety of their persons and of their private interests, and strongly advised them to submit to the Pontiff [40]. Neither did they have any better success with the Venetians, whom, to their spite, the French king had forbidden to lend them any help [41]. He placed, however, great confidence in the aid of the very captains paid by, and in the service of, the Pope, the powerful Orsini. His Roman envoys said, on the 28th of September, to the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, that " the Orsini would not fail to do what they had promised, that is, to assist him with their troops " [42]. Giustinian wrote to Venice on the 25th of September, that the Pontiff had had a conversation with Paulus Orsini and, had, with great promises, tried to make him take part in his expedition against Bologna. The baron had, however, objected, saying that he could not honorably help in the ruin of a family, to one of whose sons he had promised in marriage his own daughter, and had plainly stated that he could not and would not, at any price, participate in the undertaking. The Pontiff then requested him to induce the other Orsini to lend the desired help ; while he, having such a reason, would abstain.

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39. Gozzadini, ubi supra, p. 131; Muzzi, ubi supra, p. 435.

40. Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, Lib. V, Cap. IV. P. 42 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 429 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 314.

41. Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 659.

42. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 131.

Julius had accepted the mission but remarked that it would be difficult to persuade them, because they did not know whether, after that, they themselves would be secure, since the Most Christian king and also his minister, cardinal of Rouen, had warned the cardinal John Baptist Orsini to watch their affairs well, as it was the Pope's intention to ruin also their house [43].

The report made by the cardinal on his return from Milan had, according to Machiavelli [44], its origin in a rumor spread in consequence of the fact that Cesar de Borgia had been received by the King with greater honors than those bestowed upon the Most Reverend representative of the Orsini barons.

Pope Alexander VI strongly denied the accusation made by the lord Julius ; If they have said such a thing, they have told an outrageous lie, " se ne mentono per la gola ", he replied. The charge affected him so deeply that he wrote to the French king to complain of the alleged statement ; and, on the 18th of October, he ordered read, in public consistory, a letter from the King himself and another from the cardinal of Rouen, both to the shame of the Orsini, in which it was stated that they were atrocious liars, " se ne mentono per la gola ", scoundrels and traitors [45].

Julius, who of all the Orsini seemed to be the least ill disposed, went to acquit himself of the errand which he had agreed to perform. He and cardinal John Baptist left Rome suddenly without the knowledge of the Pontiff, for the city of Todi, where the other members of their house had convened, after withdrawing their troops from Romagna ; and where the Baglioni and Vitellozzo Vitelli were also expected to be present [46]. On the 27th of September, 1502, they held a family council, but did not report to the Pope the resolutions which

43. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 125.

44. Legazione al Duca Valentino, die 7a Octobris, 1502, Opere, vol. V, p. 196.

45. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 126. 158.

46. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 128, 138 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 317.

they had taken. Their ominous silence caused the Pontiff much anxiety and made him take measures to insure the safety of himself and of the City [47].

ARTICLE III. — ALL THE POPE'S VASSALS CONSPIRE AGAINST HIM.

The meeting of Todi was a prelude for the Conspiracy of La Magione. In this little city, located near the Eastern bank of lake Trasimeno and belonging to cardinal John Baptist Orsini[48], a number of rebel vassals of the Pope came together, with all possible secrecy [49], on one of the last days of September, 1502 [50]. They were, namely, the said cardinal Orsini, the papal condottieri who continued to receive their pay [51], Julius, Paulus [52] and Franciscus Orsini, duke of Gravina [53], Vitellozzo Vitelli of Citta di Castello [54], Oliverotto Eufreducci of Fermo, Gianpaolo Baglione of Perugia and Messer Antonio da Venafro who represented his master, Pandalfo Petrucci of

47. Villari, ibid., pp. 136, 138.

48. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 317.

49. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, p. 279 ; Alvisi, ibid. ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 413.

50. Alvisi and Balan, ibid. ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 659.

51. Alvisi, ibid., p. 316.

52. The Pontiff had favored him with the temporal vicariate of the castles of Aspra, Montedasola and Rochetta ; and the previous year, on the 16th of August, he had made him lord of the castles of Cantalupi, Forani, Cresoni and Statiani (Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXII, 242. Alienationes castrorum.

53. The count of Pitigliano, Nicholas Orsini, was not willing to take part in this rebellion against the Pope and his captain general. After making their peace with Cesar de Borgia, his relatives asked and obtained that his place, Fiano, should be taken from him and given to the " cavaliere Orsini ", Fabio, a son of Paulus (: Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 356-357), who is mentioned by Machiavelli as a young nobleman of Cesar de Borgia's court, employed as a messenger to his relatives.

54. Only a few months before, on the 1st of May 1502, Vitellozzo had received from the Pope the castle of Montone and the governorship of the one of Citerna. (Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. VIII ad XI. Lib. II Regest. 868, fiis 117, 180).

Siena, looked upon as president of the convention [55]. Giovanni Bentivoglio kept, at the time, his envoys at the papal court, in order to settle his difficulties with the Pontiff ; but, expecting better results from war than from peace negotiations, he also joined the rebellious vassals and, on the 27th of September, his son, Hermes, left Bologna for La Magione, from whence he returned on the 12th of October [56]. Guidobaldo, the late duke of Urbino, although absent in Venice, was also admitted as one of the plotters [57].

The conspirators contracted a defensive and offensive league [58], resolving to restore their States to all expelled princes, to attack Cesar de Borgia in Imola, where he was preparing to assail Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, and to pursue him to his complete ruin [59]. Hermes Bentivoglio declared at La Magione : " I will kill the duke of Valentinois, if any opportunity is offered ". Oliverotto of Fermo affirmed under oath that, should he find an occasion, he would hang him with his own hands, and Vitellozzo Vitelli swore before his colleagues, that in less than a year he would either slay the duke or have him in prison or cast out of Italy [60].

Nor were the plotters excessive in their expectations. They had gathered in secure places nine thousand infantry men, seven hundred men-at-arms and four hundred mounted halberdiers [61]. Bentivoglio alone promised three hundred heavy cavalry and six thousand foot [62]. With all those troops it was

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55. Machiavelli, Descrizione del Modo etc. Additam. to Il Principe, p 235 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 163 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 222 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 279 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 64 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 437.

56. Ghirardacci ap. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 132, footn. 2.

57. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II p. 100.

58. Ugolini, ibid.; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia p. 317.

59. Gozzadini, ubi supra, p. 132 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 659.

60. Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 318, n; Gozzadini, ubi supra, p. 134 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 298.

61. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 437 ; Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 318.

62. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 191.

na easy task to subdue the papal captain general, who was keeping but small garrisons in his conquered cities, and had with him, in Imola, only two thousand and five hundred soldiers on foot, two or three hundred men-at-arms, that is, the Spanish and the Roman troops of his immediate command, and a hundred lances of his noble guard [63].

To secure themselves against all hazards of war, the conspirators, furthermore applied for assistance to the republics of Florence and of Venice. The Venetians did not venture to lend them any material aid, but wrote in their favor to the king of France, saying that his protection of the ambitious duke of Valentinois would not promote his honor [64]. Florence, on the contrary, paid no attention to their request or great promises ; because, Nardi says [65], their villainous character was known long since ; but, as a token of friendliness, its council accredited with Cesar de Borgia their secretary Niccolò Machiavelli, as a special envoy [66].

The conspiracy of La Magione was kept secret at first, and the Orsini, especially, were hiding their hostile designs [67], until, Alvisi says, they might find a pretext to justify their disgraceful rebellion, being, at the time, the paid soldiers of the duke of Valentinois [68]. Whether they were concerned for their honor does not appear ; but they profited by the secret to commence simulated negotiations with the Pontiff, in regard to their cooperation with him in his intended offensive of the Bentivoglios, their accomplices ; in order to gain more time for the preparation of their attack upon his captain

63. Alvisi, ibid., p. 318 ; Muzzi, Annal: di Bologna, t. V, p. 437.
64. Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 321.
65. Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 279 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 64.
66. Machiavelli, Descrizione del Modo, etc., p. 236.
67. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca Valentino, Opere, vol. V, p. 235 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 413.
68. Machiavelli, Legaz. al Duca Valent., Opere, vol. V, p. 196.

general, and to draw from him more money for use against his own interests.

Already in the very first days of October, 1502, Julius Orsini was in Rome, negotiating with pope Alexander VI a new enlistment of the Orsini troops with the army of the Church ; and Pandolfo Petrucci sent one of his chamberlains to Imola, to hoodwink the duke of Valentinois, by telling him that he would in no way favor one who should oppose his Excellency [69]. Cesar de Borgia had been considerably depressed by the information of Paulus Orsini's refusal to accompany him on his intended expedition against the lord Bentivoglio, but he took courage again when he heard that the Pontiff was conferring with the Orsini barons, and he further prepared for the execution of his design, by enlisting new soldiers [70]. Julius Orsini and the cardinal, his brother, were making frequent calls at the Vatican palace, but their conferences seemed to be productive of little good. The Venetian ambassador in Rome, Antonio Giustinian, wrote home, on the 5th of October, that the Pontiff was much disconcerted by the Orsini being unwilling to alter their first proposals, and that, if he could honorably do so, he would gladly withdraw the promises which he himself had made. The following day, the ambassador wrote of the rumor, that the barons would side with the Pope, who was then forwarding to Romagna a sum of eighteen thousand ducats, a portion of which was said to be destined for the Orsini [71]. On the 7th, the Pontiff spoke in consistory of a letter from Imola, by which Cesar de Borgia announced the Orsini's inclination to agree with him [72] ; but, on the 9th, cardinal Orsini wrote to the Pope, that his kinsmen were distrustful ; yet, that he was in hopes of calming their

69. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 323.
70. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 131vo.
71. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 141.
72. Villari, ibid., p. 143.

fears; and he made an almost certain promise of the cooperation of their troops, although they excused themselves from being present in person [73]. On the 10th of October, Giustinian wrote to Venice that Julius Orsini had visited the Pope again, and that their accord was considered by some as concluded, and by others, as not [74]. Julius Orsini assured that an agreement with the Pope had been made, on the condition of Bentivoglio's continuance in Bologna. He left Rome on the 11th, and received from the papal treasury twenty thousand ducats, Giustinian says ; but Machiavelli justly reduces the sum to four thousand, as pay of their troops in the service of the Church [75].

It had been resolved at La Magione to commence hostilities with the forcible recuperation of the duchy of Urbino [76], and it took but a few days to incite against the duke of Valentinois the friends and former subjects of duke Guidobaldo di Montefeltro. On the 5th of October, 1502 [77], the people of San Leo craftily entered the fortress of that place, the strongest of the whole duchy, assassinated the Spanish castellan and the small garrison, and proclaimed Guidobaldo as their duke [78].

This event was no sooner known than the city of Urbino itself was in open revolt, the defenders of its stronghold were put to death and the former duke was recalled from Venice to take possession of his State again [79]. Many other places

73. Villari, ibid., p. 144.

74. Ibid., p. 145 ; Cfr. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 282.

75. Villari, ibid., p. 147 ; Machiavelli, Descrizione del Modo, etc., p. 236 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 323.

76. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 279.

77. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 413. Not on the 8th, as said by Gregorovius ; Geschichte der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 474, n. ; for on the 7th, the loss of San Leo was already known to Cesar de Borgia and to Machiavelli, who were then both in Imola : Machiavelli, Legazione al duca Valent. : Opere, vol. V, p. 199.

78. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 146.

79. Machiavelli, Descrizione del Modo etc., p. 235 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 131 ; Nardi, ubi supra, p. 280 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 96.

followed the example of the capital. Bands of thieves and malefactors gathered and overran the whole district, under the pretext of expelling the papal soldiers, but with the real object of incendiarism and robbery of cereals and cattle [80].

Meanwhile, Giovanni Bentivoglio, the first conspirator to declare himself, sent down to Castel San Pietro, a few miles from Imola, quite a number of troops, but had recalled them already on the 9th of October, after they had devastated the whole neighborhood [81].

The duke of Valentinois, having withdrawn to the fortress of Imola, was unable to oppose those warlike movements with the few troops under his direct command, while he could not help doubting the loyalty of his condottieri [82]. He hurried messengers to the duke of Ferrara, requesting his help ; to the Pontiff, who repeatedly sent him large sums of money [83], and to king Louis XII, urging him to dispatch the reenforcements which he had promised to the papal army in case of need [84]. He also went to work at once to increase by every means the number of his soldiers. He engaged the services of the condottieri Fracasso, Malvezzi and Ludovico della Mirandola, ordering them to enlist as many men as possible [85]. He sent a certain Raphael dei Pazzi to collect about five hundred Gasconian mercenaries in the duchy of Milan, and another official to engage fifteen hundred Swiss ; while he himself gathered in his own duchy of Romagna about six thousand infantry, a man from every family [86]. As the number of his

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80. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 104.

81. Machiavelli, Ex Imola, 9 Oct. 1502 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 66 ; Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 133.

82. Villari, Dispacci of Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 152 ; Machiavelli, Legazione al duca Valent., Opere, vol. V, p. 199 ; Gozzadini, Giov. II Bentiv., p. 133.

83. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 141, 145, 157, 169.

84. Machiavelli, Legazione, Opere, vol. V, p. 206 ; Nardi, Istorie, di Firenze vol. I, p. 282.

85. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 143, 145 ; Machiavelli, Legazione, Opere vol. V, p. 299.

86. Machiavelli, ibid., p. 206.

troops rapidly increased [87], he distributed them among the strongholds of Romagna, constantly increasing his power of defence [88].

Already on the 7th of October, Cesar de Borgia declared to Machiavelli, that he considered as lost the duchy of Urbino [89], where two or three days later, the cities of Gubbio and of Cagli and the castles of La Pergola and of Fossombrone were, indeed, the only places to hold out for his authority [90]. He ordered the captain of his cavalry, Ugo de Moncada, and Michelletto da Coreglia, the leader of his infantry, to withdraw from the State of Urbino, in order to avoid all conflict and to proceed eastwards for the defence of the coast cities of Romagna [91] ; but Michelletto, disobeying his command, went to the aid of the castellan of La Pergola, cruelly punished the revolt of the inhabitants of that place and sacked the city of Fossombrone [92], impressing with fear the whole duchy of Urbino.

These successes of the papal arms provoked, however, the activity of the conspirators. On the 11th of October, Vitellozzo Vitelli sent to Castel Durante a vanguard of soldiers, followed by forty cavalry men and four hundred foot. The next day the Orsini threw away the mask of friendship [93], and Paulus, together with Giulio Vitelli, captured the city and castle of Cagli ; and, on the same 12th of October, Gianpaolo Baglione of Perugia and Liverotto of Fermo appeared on the scene at the head of their troops [94].

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87. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 134.
88. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 131vo.
89. Machiavelli, Legazione, Opere, vol. V, pp. 199, 206.
90. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 149.
91. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 437 ; Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 133.
92. Machiavelli, Legazione al duca Valentino, Opere, vol. V, p. 210 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 98 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 413.
93. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca Valentino, Opere, vol. V, p. 225.
94. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 152 ; Ugolini, ubi supra, p. 100.

Paulus Orsini, with Franciscus, duke of Gravina and his other colleagues, met at Calmazzo, a small place near Fossombrone, Michelletto da Coreglia, assisted by the captain of the papal cavalry, Ugo de Moncada, and the Roman condottiere, Bartholomeo Capranica. The allied army, that counted about twelve thousand men, easily crushed the small number of their opponents. Capranica was slain ; de Moncada gave himself up to Paulus Orsini and was afterwards killed by people of the neighborhood, and Michelletto da Coreglia succeeded in saving his life and the remnants of his soldiers by taking to flight in the direction of Pesaro [95].

On the 23d of October, the duke of Valentinois related to Machiavelli [96] how this disaster had been brought about by the meanest treachery that ever took place : how the Orsini had written to him that they would enter the State of Urbino according to his orders, which he said they had received through the cavalier Orsini, and, whereas his captains expected to meet friends, they really encountered enemies. They and the Baglioni, he added, afterwards also pretended to come as his condottieri before the city of Fano, but had not succeeded in their deceit.

The victory of Calmazzo was for the conspirators the critical moment in their whole campaign. Had they kept united and marched on to Imola, the duke of Valentinois would undoubtedly have fallen in their power. It does not appear what prevented them from taking this natural course of action. Were they retained from assailing their enemy by fear of the French king, whom they well knew to be his protector and friend, or had they set their mind upon restoring first their colleagues and relatives driven into exile ? The

95. Villari, ubi supra, p. 155 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 100 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 437 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 413.

96. Legazione al duca Valentino, Opere, vol. V, p. 244.

fact is, they did not make the proper use of their great opportunity. Fear or hatred of Cesar de Borgia was the only true bond of their union, and each one knew himself so well, that he could not confide in another. A concerted plan of action was out of question.

Paulus Orsini went, on the 15th of October, to allay the fears of the rebel city of Urbino [97], and, after a few days, the Orsini troops, with those of the Urbino duchy, left in pursuit of Michelletto da Coreglia, to besiege the cities of Fano, Pesaro and Rimini ; where they were afterwards joined by Gianpaolo Baglione [98]. Cesar de Borgia had relied upon Fano to defend itself, and, indeed, the city council resolved to follow his fortune, and succeeded in keeping their gates closed to his enemies [99]. The assailants captured several castles in the district of Pesaro and ravaged its territory ; but the city itself, defended by Michelletto, held out in spite of all their efforts. So did Rimini [100].

The Vitelli took a special interest in the reinstatement of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, who, at the first invitation of the plotters, had sailed from Venice to Senigallia. On the 18th of October, he was introduced by them into the quiet possession of the city and duchy of Urbino [101].

About the same time Giovanni Bentivoglio sent his son, Hannibal, to renew his offensive in the Northwest of Imola, where he took and looted Monte Castello near Dozia [102].

Liverotto da Fermo's principal concern was to replace the late lord of Camerino, Julius Cesar Varano, with his only surviving son, Giovanmaria, who had also returned from

97. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 474, n. ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 155.

98. Machiavelli, Legazione al duca Valentino, Opere,, vol. V, pp. 249, 251 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 164 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 104.

99. Amiani, Memorie di Fano, P. II, p. 84.

100. Ugolini, ubi supra, p. 104.

101. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 161 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 474, n. ; Ugolini, ubi supra, p. 100.

102. Bibl. Vatic. Urbin., Cod. 904, fo 56vo.

Venice, in the company of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro [103]. On the 26th of October it was known in Rome that Liberotto had entered Camerino, massacring all the Spaniards there found, and had finally handed over the city to Giovanmaria. The young Varano commenced his sway by burning down the houses of the Borgia partisans, killing many of them and plundering the churches, to provide himself with money [104]. rendered to the Vitelli [105], on the condition that they should garrison of Fossombrone, consisting of forty men, had surrendered to the Vitelli [105], on the condition that they should retain their lives and personal effects ; but no sooner had they left the territory of Urbino, than they were despoiled and massacred by the troops of Liverotto da Fermo [106].

Pope Alexander VI was surprised and deeply affected by the increasingly unfavorable information of the events in Romagna, as it reached him day after day. When, on the 13th of October, he heard the loss of San Leo detailed to him, he expressed his diffidence of the Orsini and of the Vitelli ; although he assured that he had come to an accord with the Orsini and that promises had been mutually made, as also Julius Orsini had stated the day before. During all this time cardinal Orsini had, moreover, been writing quite reassuring letters to the Pontiff [107]. On the 14th, the Pope was encouraged by a letter of king Louis XII, telling him of the order that he had given to his troops in the duchy of Milan, that about five hundred lances were to proceed towards Bologna ; but he then commenced to suspect an attack from the exiled Colonna ; so he placed a guard of four hundred

103. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 414.

104. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 174, 285, n.; Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 108, n.

105. Machiavelli, Legazione al duca, Ex Imola 27 Octobris, 1502.

106. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 104.

107. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 150, 153.

men at the gates of the city of Rome, and otherwise prepared for resistance [108].

About the middle of the month, the conspiracy of La Magione, and, shortly after, the defeat of Michelletto da Coreglia and the investment of Rimini and Pesaro became known [109], and all this caused much concern to the Pontiff, who redoubled his vigilance and the means of defence [110]. Greatly disturbed he said to the Venetian ambassador : What do you think of the treachery of the Orsini? and he was especially exasperated against Julius Orsini and against his brother, the cardinal, who had continually entertained him with the promise of an understanding, and had finally left him in the lurch, after concluding an agreement with him. We were on the point of giving him a great sum of money, he said, but God has not willed us to do it, because they would with our own resources have made more war on us. I verily believe that God will punish them for so much ingratitude [111]. At the same time, while forwarding to Cesar de Borgia all the money that he could gather, even by borrowing [112], he tried to resume negotiations of peace with the Orsini and other conspirators [113].

The duke of Ferrara offered to send a number of soldiers to protect Rome against possible attacks of the plotters [114] ;

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108. Id. ibid., p. 153 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, pp. 413, 414.

109. Villari, ibid., p. 156.

110. Id. ibid., pp. 159, 170.

111. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 166.

112. 18,000 ducats, on Oct. 6th: Villari, ibid., pp. 141, 145 ; 33,000, on Oct. 17th : Ibid., p. 157. On the 23d of October the Pope said that these last days he had sent 36,000 ducats : Ibid., p. 169 ; and Machiavelli tells us that, between the 1st of Oct. and the 29th of Nov., Cesar spent, in gathering troops, more than 60,000 ducats : Legazione al duca Valent., Opere, vol. V, p. 320.

113. Villari, ibid., pp. 163, 172. In a silly interpolation of Burchard's diary, t. III, p. 223 and n. 1, it is intimated, and believed by Ranke, Geschichten, s. 160, that the Pope, to win over cardinal Orsini, promised to resign the papacy in his favor ! Both, pope Alexander VI and the cardinal well knew that, in case of vacancy of the Holy See, the tiara could be obtained only by a two-thirds vote of a conclave.

114. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 169 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 474.

but the anxieties of the Pontiff were not relieved till he heard that the troops, promised by Louis XII, were on their way to Imola [115], and, later, that they had partly arrived and that more were coming. On the 4th of November, 1502, he ordered to be read in public consistory a letter by which the French king declared his displeasure at the rebellion of the State of Urbino and the conduct of the Orsini, and threatened to come in person, if necessary, against any and all who should prove to be enemies of His Holiness [116].

Cesar de Borgia never lost courage nor confidence ; for, at the most critical moment, on the 12th of October, he jokingly said to Machiavelli [117] : " An evil star for traitors is running its course this year ". He kept eagerly at work collecting all the soldiers whom he could find far and near, in Romagna, in the duchies of Urbino and Ferrara, in Lombardy, Switserland and France, and even a few Bolognese and Albanese [118], and paid to them the enormous sum of more than sixty thousand ducats. Already on the 23d of October, he was expecting from various localities a large number of troops [119], whom he continued to distribute among the fortresses held yet in his name [120]. Towards the end of the month, the first reenforcement, two hundred and fifty lances, had arrived in Imola [121], and on the 4th of November, the Pontiff announced in consistory, that two hundred more were on their way, under the command of a relative of the duke of Valentinois, the brother of his wife; and that others still, to the number of five or six hundred, or, as the French ambassador asserted, up to eight hundred, were soon to follow [122]. Gozzadini [123] says that five hundred

115. Vill., ibid., pp. 174, 183.
116. Id. ibid., p. 191.
117. Legazione al duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 211.
118. Machiavelli, ibid., pp. 263, 270 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 189 ; Ranke, Geschichten, s. 161.
119. Machiavelli, ubi supra, pp. 223, 248.
120. Id. Descrizione del Modo, etc., p. 236.
121. Villari, ubi supra, p. 189.
122. Id. ibid., p. 192.
123. Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 135.

French lances and eight thousand infantrymen asked free passage through the district of Bologna, but eventually they crossed the Ferrarese territory, and were assigned quarters in the county of Faenza [124].

ARTICLE IV. — CESAR NEGOTIATES WITH THE CONSPIRATORS.

The duke of Valentinois had finally assembled an army sufficient to take the field against the conspirators, but, naturally averse to bloody strife, he expected better results from a continuance of the diplomatic policy, which he had adopted when yet in doubt of their hostile designs. Already on the 6th of October, he had sent to the Orsini his courtier, the cavalier Fabio Orsini, to learn their intentions and settle all possible misunderstanding [125].

According to the report of the well-informed Machiavelli, the plotters seem to have agreed upon a system of lying and of deceiving both the Pontiff [126] and his captain general. Pandolfo Petrucci repeatedly wrote and dispatched envoys to the duke of Valentinois, to protest that he was not to oppose him [127] ; Vitellozzo sent word that he would rejoin him, if Cesar should only give him some security [128], and the Orsini declared themselves the servants of the Pontiff, who had, they said, already ordered to remit them their pay as to his condottieri [129]. Paulus Orsini offered himself to go and treat with the Duke in Imola, and sent back his son to enquire whether his call would be agreeable. Fabio returned from his mission on the 13th of October ; and, before night, he was on

124. Cfr. Machiavelli, ubi supra, p. 268.
125. Machiavelli, Legazione al duca Valentino, Opere, vol. V, pp. 204, 219.
126. Supra, p. 543.
127. Ibid., pp. 200, 204.
128. Ibid., p. 212.
129. Ibidem.

his way again to inform his parent, in the name of the Duke, that he could go with all confidence [130]. But the Orsini did not wait for the answer. They went at the head of their troops, not to negotiate and renew their allegiance ; but, they and their colleagues, as open enemies, to fight Cesar de Borgia's captains at the battle of Calmazzo, and to further attack his possessions.

The time of dissimulation was now at an end. After a few more days, Cesar de Borgia knew but too well all his enemies. His first care was to try to separate the Orsini from the hostile combination ; and, about the 20th of October, he sent an envoy to Paulus Orsini, inviting him in friendly and promising terms to come and have an understanding with him in Imola [131]. It is said that the Pope placed in the hands of the Orsini cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia, as a hostage for Paulus' security [132].

The Orsini, short of money [133], surprised by the resistance of Fano and the other coast cities and, above all, full of apprehension at the approach of the French reenforcements, gladly took this occasion to readjust their relations with the Pontiff and his captain general. Paulus Orsini arrived in Imola on the 25th of October, tried to excuse and justify his late conduct, and offered to communicate to his relatives the proposals made by the Borgias [134]. These were as follows : 1st. The Pope should grant to the colleagues a general pardon of all acts committed during their rebellion. 2d. He should continue their engagement and pay, as captains in his army. 3d. The colleagues should place, as warrants of their future fidelity, one of their sons or nearest relatives at the Pontiff's disposition. 4th. They should oblige themselves to restore

130. Ibid., p. 219.

131. Machiavelli, Legazione al duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 250 : La venuta del Signor Paolo e stata procurata assai da questro Signore.

132. Id., ibid.

133. Ibid., p. 212.

134. Machiavelli, ibid., p. 250.

to the duke of Valentinois the duchies of Urbino and Camerino and all other possessions lately taken away from him. 5th. They should not be obliged, more than one at a time, to personally perform the duties of condottieri ; nor was cardinal Orsini bound to reside at the papal court any more than he might wish [135].

The following day, Paulus Orsini dispatched one of his men to the camp of his relatives before Fano, in order to obtain their consent to the proposed agreement [136] and, for the same purpose, he also went to Bologna. Giovanni Bentivoglio refused, however, to deliver as security one of his sons [137], and was consequently debarred from partaking in the coming treaty. His interests were left to the decision of a commission consisting of Cesar de Borgia, Pandolfo Petrucci and of cardinal Orsini [138].

Paulus Orsini left Imola at the end of October, taking with him a sketch of the articles agreed upon with Cesar de Borgia, who had commissioned him to conclude, in his name, a treaty with the other conspirators [139]. He was unfavorably received in Urbino, and Vitellozzo Vitelli, who, but a few days before, had captured Fossombrone from the duke of Valentinois, was so exasperated on hearing the conditions of reconciliation, that, on the 2d of November, he tore the paper into pieces [140].

Cesar had, on the 20th of October, told to Machiavelli that Pandolfo Petrucci was daily annoying him with letters and messengers to declare his great friendship ; but I know him,

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135. Machiavelli, ibid., p. 261 ; id., Descrizione del Modo etc., p. 236 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 195, no. 2 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 66; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 282.

136. Machiavelli, Legazione al duca Valentino, Opere, vol. V, p. 250.

137. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 182.

138. Machiavelli, Legazione, ubi supra, pp. 262, 290, n. ; Villari, ubi supra, pp. 190, 196 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 282.

139. Machiavelli, ubi supra, p. 266.

140. Bibl. Vatic., Urbinat., Cod. 904, f° 53.

he had added [141]. When, however, Paulus Orsini arrived in Siena, he was blamed for his officiousness, and Pandolfo would not accept the articles as submitted for his approval, but returned them, quite modified, to Imola. Thereupon Cesar sent them back, on the 8th or the 9th of November with the remark, that Pandolfo was free to accept them as they were, but that he himself would not admit any others. After some discussion, Pandolfo Petrucci submitted, and signed the paper, which was then also subscribed by Antonio da Venafro, for and in the name of the cardinal John Baptist Orsini. Paulus Orsini and Petrucci promised, moreover, that Vitellozzo Vitelli, Gianpaolo Baglione and Liverotto da Fermo would also sign the articles [142].

In fact, these last bitter enemies finally surrendered to the importunities of the Orsini, and Paulus returned to Imola, on the 16th of November, 1502, with the document signed by all but one of the conspirators, Giovanni Bentivoglio, whose case had been set apart [143].

On the very next day, the Pontiff performed his part of the treaty, by remitting the pay for their further engagement in his military service ; namely, to Julius Orsini he paid the sum of one thousand ducats, one thousand to Paulus Orsini, one thousand and five hundred to Vitellozzo Vitelli and seven hundred and fifty to Franciscus Orsini, duke of Gravina [144].

The reconciled condottieri fulfilled slowly and reluctantly the duties imposed upon them. On the 4th of the following December, the Orsini broke their camp before Fano, and the following day it was announced that the duchy of Urbino was to be restored to the duke of Valentinois [145]. In the evening of

141. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, t. V, pp. 238, 240 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 163.

142. Villari, ubi supra,, p. 212; Machiavelli, Legazione, ubi supra, pp. 302, 303.

143. Villari, ubi supra, p. 123 ; Machiavelli, ubi supra, pp. 302, 322 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 108.

144. See document 173.

145. Bibl. Vatic. Urbin., Cod. 904, fiis 58vo, 59. Much tattle has been told by contemporaries

the 9th of December, 1502, the Pope learned that his captain, Cesar de Borgia, had come again into possession of the city of Urbino, in consequence of an accord with Guidobaldo, who was allowed to leave with all his belongings. The news was received with great joy, and many cannon were fired at the castle of Sant' Angelo [146]. After demolishing his fortresses, the former duke, on the 9th [147], taking with him all his artillery, retired to the principal city of Vitellozzo Vitelli, Citta di Castello [148], where he remained until the first days of the following year, when he fled to Venice again [149]. He returned to Urbino, at the first news of the demise of pope Alexander VI.

The Pope had, on the 25th of November, written a brief to the community of Camerino, and, when Liberotto da Fermo had abandoned Giovanmaria Varano, the people readily submitted again to the authority of cardinal Giovanni de Borgia [150].

This agreement, actually a palliated submission, was not the result of an inward change in the feelings of the rebellious lords [151], but an effect of several circumstances and especially of the arrival of the French troops and of further threats of king Louis XII. They had secured the right of absenting themselves from the army and from the presence of Cesar de Borgia, and had obtained for cardinal Orsini, the privilege of staying away from the papal court, the evil significance of

and more yet by late historians about a project to compensate the dispossessed duke of Urbino, by creating him a cardinal ; but the Pope ridiculed the idea, and said: We will give him five or six thousand ducats a year and provide for him, but we do not want him as a priest : Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 279.

146. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 225.

147. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 414.

148. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 109 ; Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 66.

149. Archivio Stor. Ital., ser. I. Append., vol. II, p. 265.

150. Archiv. della Società Roman. di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 106. At the death of the Pontiff, Giovanmaria retook possession of Camerino.

151. Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 66.

which the Pope himself pointed out at once [152]. Vitellozzo Vitelli, in particular, boldly manifested his true disposition, when receiving and harboring at his court Guidobaldo, the expelled enemy of Cesar de Borgia.

The treaty just concluded was but a truce, at best. Nor were its negotiations ever conducted to a final, binding conclusion; for one of its articles provided that, as the duke of Valentinois acted only in his capacity of captain general of the Church, it should be ratified and convalidated by the Pontiff himself. By a brief of the 4th of November, 1502, pope Alexander VI commissioned his chamberlain Troches to ratify the document in his name, provided it should previously be subscribed also by Giovanni Bentivoglio [153]; but, as Bentivoglio refused to accede to the agreement, it never was formally admitted by the Sovereign Pontiff, and remained in a state of abeyance, as Machiavelli remarks [154]. No one seems to have paid any attention to this essential formality, and peace reigned for a short while at least.

Giovanni Bentivoglio had felt offended at the Orsini, for submitting his affairs to the arbitration of strangers, while they tried to settle their own; and he resolved to sever all connection with them and to enter into a separate agreement with the duke of Valentinois [155]. Having received hostages from the duke, who wished no better than to divide his enemies, Bentivoglio dispatched his son, the prothonotary Anton Galeazzo, to Imola, as early as the 2d of November, to commence negotiations [156]. The prothonotary returned to Bologna on the 10th [157]; and on the 14th, the articles of a

152. Letter of the Florentine ambassador, ap. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 195, n. 2.

153. See document 174.

154. Legazione al duca, Opere, t. V, p. 292.

155. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 283; Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 136.

156. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 340; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 440, ref. to Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca Valent

157. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 288

treaty, provided they should be approved by the Pope, were accepted by both parties [158]. Thereupon Bentivoglio sent an envoy to Rome, where a complete understanding with the Pontiff took place, and, on the 23d of November, 1502, the articles were finally drawn up, to the satisfaction also of king Louis XII [159]. The treaty was duly signed in Imola, on the 2d of December [160], and the papal bull of ratification, issued at last on the 13th of January, 1503, was received with public rejoicings in Bologna, on the following 24th [161].

According to the articles, 1st. There was to be everlasting peace and friendship between the contracting parties. 2d. Each was to be a friend towards the friends of the other and an enemy of his enemies, pope Alexander VI and king Louis XII excepted. 3d. Constance, the oldest son of Annibal, first-born of Giovanni Bentivoglio, should marry the sister of the bishop of Elna and afterwards cardinal Francis Lloris de Borgia, a nephew of the Pope [162]. 4th. Giovanni Bentivoglio was to assist Cesar de Borgia with a hundred men-at-arms and two hundred light cavalry, paid by him, for the space of one year, in any of the latter's enterprises. 5th. Cesar, with a hundred men-at-arms, was to be engaged by Giovanni Bentivoglio for a term of eight years, at the annual pay of two thousand ducats. 6th. The Pontiff was to confirm to the Bentivoglios and to the community of Bologna all the favors and privileges granted by pope Nicholas V and his successors [163].

158. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 226; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 341.

159. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, Docum. LXVIII, p. LXXXII; Villari, ubi supra, pp. 225, 232.

160. Machiavelli, Legazione al duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 331; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 442; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 343.

161. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 141 and Docum. LXXIX; Muzzi, ubi supra, p. 448.

162. Gozzadini remarks that the fall of the Borgias prevented the contract of this union.

163. Gozzadini, ubi supra, pp. 135, LXXXII; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 246; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 441.

CHAPTER XIV.

Tragedy of Senigallia.

After concluding the treaties of peace with his rebellious condottieri and the lord of Bologna, the duke of Valentinois, with nearly the whole of his army and his French reenforcements, left the city of Imola in the morning of the 10th of December, 1502. He passed by Forli and arrived at night the following day in Cesena [1], where he ordered his artillery to be brought up from Forli. His troops had by this time increased so as to be equal at least to those of his late enemies combined [2]. He not only put them in military order and gave them their pay, but availed himself of every means to continually increase their number and efficiency [3].

Everyone was anxiously wondering, Machiavelli says [4], on seeing Cesar thus preparing for war, at a time when he had just made peace with all his enemies. Cesar, however, well knew that the recent treaty, still informal, was but a scrap of paper in the hands of the treacherous Orsini, of the Vitelli, who had torn it before, and of all their colleagues. Not one of them had deigned or ventured to present himself before him. His enemy, the former duke of Urbino was harbored still by Vitellozzo; Giovanmaria Varano remained in possession of Camerino and its district [5], and it was no secret that the conspirators of La Magione were utterly dissatisfied with

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1. Machiavelli, Legazione al duca Valentino, Opere, vol. V, p. 348 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 263, 279 ; Siena, Storia di Sinigaglia, p. 165.
2. Villari, ibid., pp. 263, 297.
3. Machiavelli, ubi supra, p. 375 ; Villari, ibid., pp. 282, 286.
4. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 137, n.
5. Machiavelli, ubi supra, pp. 376, 382 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 67 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 117.

the recent agreement, which they considered as an artifice of the Borgias to disrupt their alliance and finally to wreak vengeance on them [6].

A more obvious reason for Cesar to increase the number of his soldiers was the sudden withdrawal of the troops lent to him, but a few weeks before, by king Louis XII. He had, indeed, hardly arrived in Cesena, when some companies of the French lances commenced to return to Milan. On the 18th of December, it was said in Rome that a portion of them had left the papal army, and that the remainder were soon to go [7].

On the 24th, the last of the French troops, with the exception of Cesar's brother-in-law, the lord de Libret, with a hundred lances, were passing through Bologna, on their way to Lombardy [8].

The true cause of this withdrawal is unknown [9], but the fact could not fail to have a startling effect upon the condottieri of the duke of Valentinois, who had been induced into an odious submission only by the arrival into Romagna of the French, whose departure now revived their self-confidence and their treacherous designs. Machiavelli remarks that it was very doubtful as to how much Cesar de Borgia could, at this time, rely on the commands of the Orsini and of the Vitelli. Ignorant of the number of his troops scattered in various cities, they surmised that he was no longer capable of doing any great harm [10], and they emboldened themselves to propose to him an expedition, in which they expected to be able with their several commands brought together, easily to

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6. Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 66 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 283.

7. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 276.

8. Ibid., pp. 292, 509, 513 ; Machiavelli, Legazione at Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 366.

9. Machiavelli, ibid., pp. 342, 366, 370, 404 ; Villari, ubi supra, pp. 293, n., 511.

10. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 292 ; Machiavelli, Legazione at Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 371 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 67.

overcome the papal army and to bring into their power its captain general, the hated duke of Valentinois [11].

While, to the apprehension of several neighboring princes, Cesar was keeping his designs absolutely secret, and his future movements seemed to be undecided [12], his reinstated condottieri, the Orsini and the Vitelli sent special envoys to Cesena, and Oliverotto da Fermo dared to personally appear before him [13], to proffer their combined services towards the capture of Senigallia.

The late lord of this city, Giovanni della Rovere, had been a constant adversary of his sovereign, pope Alexander VI, and his widow, Giovanna di Montefeltro, was now governing the place, in the name of Francesco Maria, her minor son, who was at this time a refugee with the cardinal, his uncle, in Savona. The governess, Giovanna, had, but a few months before, lent assistance to Julius Cesar Varanno, the lord of Camerino, in his defence against the papal army, and had not feared, quite recently, to give all possible aid to her brother, Guidobaldo, in his recovery of the duchy of Urbino [14]. These hostile acts were sufficient motives for Cesar de Borgia to make war against her, and he consented to the proposal of his condottieri [15]. Oliverotto lost no time to gather his troops and proceed to the easy conquest of the city and fortress of Senigallia ; and he was soon followed by Paulus and Franciscus Orsini and Vitellozzo Vitelli, while the duke of Valentinois himself prepared his departure from Cesena.

Before leaving, he gave a striking proof of his impartial

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11. Machiavelli, ubi supra, p. 372.

12. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, pp. 348, 351, 375.

13. Machiavelli, Descrizione del Modo, p. 236 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 446 ; Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 140.

14. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 244.

15. Siena, Storia di Sinigaglia, p. 165.

justice and of his good will towards the common people. Having learned that his own official, the governor of Cesena, Ramiro d'Orca, or de Lorqua, had, in many ways, extorted money from his subjects and treated them with cruelty [16], he granted him a summary trial, and, on the morning of the 25th of December, the inhabitants of Cesena were gratified at the sight of d'Orca's beheaded body exposed in the public square [17]. Pope Alexander VI afterwards told the Venetian ambassador how Ramiro, after being condemned to death, had confessed to the duke of Valentinois his scheme to deliver the city of Cesena into the hands of his conspired enemies ; and, in the hope of saving his life, he had revealed to him how, after the conclusion of peace, Vitellozzo Vitelli, with the approval of Oliverotto da Fermo, had ordered one of his crossbowmen to aim at the duke and kill him [18].

On the 26th of December, 1502, Cesar de Borgia finally moved away from Cesena, and, passing by Sant Archangelo, Rimini and Pesaro, from whose fortresses he took with him nearly all their garrisons, he proceeded, on the 29th, to the city of Fano, on his way to Senigallia [19]. Here he further increased his numerous army and placed all his troops in good order, to secure himself against the habitual treacheries of his faithless friends, as Nardi remarks [20].

In the meantime Oliverotto da Fermo, the Orsini and Vitellozzo Vitelli had led their commands before the city of Senigallia. At the first news of their approach the governess, Giovanna di Montefeltro, took refuge in the fortress, which was not prepared for a siege ; but, upon the advice of the

16. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 354, 355; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 110.
17. Alvisi, ibid. ; Tonduzzi, Hist. di Faenza, p. 565 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 293, n. 2.
18. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 304.
19. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 374 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p, 67.
20. Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 285 ; Bibl. Vatic. Urbinat., Cod. 904, fo 14vo.

castellan, Andreas Doria, she fled to her son's duchy of Sora, in the kingdom of Naples [21].

Oliverotto captured the city almost without opposition [22], but there is no record of any attempt made by him or his associates against its fortress, which remained under Andreas Doria's authority.

Cesar de Borgia was still in Pesaro when his suspicions were aroused, if not confirmed, by the strange message of his condottieri, telling him how Senigallia had submitted to them, but the citadel had not yielded, because the castellan was unwilling to give it up to anyone except to Cesar himself [23]; and they requested him to come and accept the promised surrender [24]. Cesar was further astonished, when learning that not only Oliverotto da Fermo, but Franciscus Orsini, duke of Gravina, Paulus Orsini and his son, Fabio, had come together and also that Vitellozzo Vitelli, with one of his nephews, had arrived in Senigallia on the previous day, to surround him on this unimportant occasion; although they had stipulated, in their recent treaty, that they should be free from personally serving him more than one at a time [25].

Cesar did not mistake in his suspicions of the evil intentions of his reconciled condottieri. After their conspiracy of La Magione had now proved to be a failure, they had contrived

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21. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 295; Siena, Storia di Sinigaglia, p. 165; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 415.—According to the Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I. Append., vol. II, p. 264, Giovanna fled from Senigallia to Florence, intending to find an asylum with the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, in Savona; while Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 67, and Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 284, relate that she escaped to Florence, and, after a few days, went on to Venice. Burchard and Thuasne, referring to Ugolini, relate that she fled by sea with her son and her treasures to Venice directly (Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 229 and n. 2.)

22. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 446.

23. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 357 and n. 1.

24. Machiavelli, Descrizione del Modo, p. 236; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 446.

25. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, t. V, p. 380; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 132; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 356, 357.

to fall all together upon him, when he should expect it the least. The sequel of the facts and the documents of the time leave no doubt on this important subject. A letter of the marchioness of Mantua to her husband [26] and a dispatch of Machiavelli to the Seigniory of Florence plainly expose the new plot. Machiavelli wrote : " Magnificent Lords... After the departure of the French from Cesena, the lord duke of Romagna had had forebodings of how his reconciled enemies were anxious to lay hands on him and to secure themselves against him, under pretext of acquiring Senigallia in his name. Under the pretense of such an undertaking, they intended to combine all their forces, thinking that the Duke had not so many soldiers left as he really had, and that their designs would be easily executed ". The ambassador continues to tell that Cesar hurried to secretly gather his scattered army, carefully planned his attack on Senigallia, and finally forestalled the purpose of the conspirators [27].

Dissembling his feelings and intentions, Cesar informed his condottieri that he willingly granted their request, and directed the Orsini and the Vitelli to withdraw their soldiers to some distance from Senigallia, as he wished to assign lodgings there to his own troops, while Oliverotto and his men should continue guarding the city [28].

At the same time he instructed Michelletto da Coreglia and a few more of his bravest captains to escort two by two each one of the lords whom they were to meet, as it were to honor them ; and to entertain them with friendly conversation, till they should reach the palace where he was to alight.

The Pontiff's captain general moved with the whole of his army from Fano to Senigallia, in the morning of the last day

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26. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 629.
27. See Document 175a.
28. Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 67 ; Siena, Storia di Sinigaglia, p. 165.

of the year 1502 [29]. When still five miles from the city, he was met first by Paulus Orsini, attended by only a few mounted men, and then, the duke of Gravina and Vitellozzo of Citta di Castello successively approached him. After an apparently most amicable reception, they all took their place in the procession between their designated guards. Oliverotto was still absent ; but, at a signal from his master, Michelletto went forth and brought him into line. At the sight of Cesar's unexpected numerous army and from his manner of acting, his condottieri suddenly showed signs of sadness and their countenances betrayed profound anxiety. As soon as arrived at his quarters, they asked him leave to return to their commands; but he requested them to enter with him, saying that he wanted a short conference with them about matters to be transacted. They could not refuse. Hardly were they seated, when Cesar pretended that it was necessary for him to retire for a few moments. His leaving the room was, however, the sign given to a dozen strong, armed men, to sally forth, apprehend and imprison in separate compartments the dismayed barons Paulus and Franciscus Orsini and the lords Oliverotto Uffreducci and Vitellozzo Vitelli [30].

In the meantime Cesar mounted his steed and ordered his troops to fall upon those of Oliverotto, who were about the city, and to put them to rout. But his soldiers, Nardi says [31], not satisfied with cutting down his enemies, also commenced to sack the unfortunate city ; and, if he had not stopped the

29. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 380; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 115.

30. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, t. V, p. 378 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 231 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, pp. 67, 69 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 132 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 285 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 115 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 416 ; Siena, Storia di Sinigaglia, p. 165.

31. Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 285.

pillage by putting to death the most lawless of his own men, Senigallia would have been entirely ruined [32].

That same day, Cesar also sent his cavalry to attack the commands of the Orsini and of Vitellozzo, who were camping in the neighborhood of Castel Morro ; but the news of the alarming events of Senigallia had traveled on the wings of the wind, and the " cavaliere " Orsini, Paulus' son, who had charge of his father's troops, had escaped at once to Ravenna, together with Vitellozzo's nephew [33]. Their soldiers fled by ways and byways in the direction from which they had come; but, harassed as they were by the people of the country, they were gradually brought to nothing in the duchy of Urbino, where they had lately committed innumerable crimes [34].

Cesar de Borgia's first act, after he reentered his quarters, was to improvise a tribunal before which the arrested condottieri should be carefully examined [35]. Pope Alexander VI afterwards learned that Vitellozzo Vitelli fully confessed the plot of which he had been charged by Ramiro d'Orca, and accused Oliverotto Uffreducci of being his accomplice in the design of murdering the duke of Valentinois [36]. Oliverotto cast all the blame on Vitellozzo [37]. Paulus and Franciscus Orsini were kept in chains, but the other two convicts were condemned to die that same evening. Vitellozzo seemed to repent and begged to receive the papal general absolution [38],

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32. Balan, Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 415.—To prevent the renewal of the looting, he remained, against his wishes, in the place, the following night : Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, t. V, p. 382.

33. Burchard, Diarum, t. III, p. 230, Archivio Stor. Ital., ser. I, Append., vol. II, p. 263.

34. Machiavelli, ubi supra, pp. 380, 390 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 132 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 115.

35. Diligentemente esaminati, Biagio Buonaccorsi says, Diario, p. 69.

36. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 305 ; Alvisi, Cesar Borgia, p. 360 ; H. de l'Epinois, Revue des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 415.

37. Alvisi, ibid., p. 361.

38. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, t. I, p. 285 or seq. ; Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 361.

while Oliverotto, a heartless assassin [39], unsuccessfully tried to take his own life [40]. They both were strangled or haned [41] and buried in the church of the Hospice of Mercy in Senigallia [42].

The tragedy of Senigallia, as those events are often called, is represented by some ancient historians and by all modern enemies of the Borgias as the most heinous of all the crimes attributed to the duke of Valentinois. It is evident that he was crafty in bringing about the seizure of his deceitful enemies ; but no one should contest his right to save his own life by the capture and death of those treacherous condottieri, who had planned and requested themselves the meeting of Senigallia, where they had conspired to assail him with their forces combined, and to slay him, together with the men whom they had looked for as his escort, during the very night of their own catastrophe [43].

We may find a detailed report of their evil design in one of Cesar de Borgia's letters of the 2d of January, 1503, to the magistrates of Perugia [44].

Already in the evening of the 31st of December, 1502, the duke of Valentinois sent forth messages, written in almost identical terms, to all the princes with whom he was in friendly relations, to inform them of the events which were just then taking place [45]. To the doge of Venice he wrote in particular that he had forestalled the perfidy and wickedness of his

39. He had obtained his authority in Fermo, a year before, by the treacherous murder of his maternal uncle, Giovanni Fogliano and of the principal citizens of Fermo : Machiavelli, Il Principe, Cap. VIII—Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 129, is prejudiced enough to say that pope Alexander VI, unable to punish them at once, approved of Oliverotto's bloody misdeeds !

40. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 360.

41. Beheaded, Villari says, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 305.

42. Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 361.

43. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 361.

44. See Document 175.

45. Le patenti che si scrivono attorno, dicono di aver preso i traditori, Machiavelli says, In Sinigaglia die ultima Dec. 1502 : Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 379.

enemies, by taking them prisoners ; and he trusted that His Serenity would be well pleased at the tidings [46]. He, likewise, wrote to Giovanni Bentivoglio and others, stating that, after their rebellion against His Holiness and the pardon obtained, the treacherous lords Paulus Orsini, Vitellozzo, the duke of Gravina and Oliverotto of Fermo, seeing the departure of the French troops, had come to Senigallia with all their forces to capture him, while pretending to give him their assistance ; but that he had done to them what they had intended to do to him [47].

All the answers received by Cesar de Borgia clearly indicate how the best-informed contemporaries judged of the morality of his action at the tragedy of Senigallia. Gregorovius relates how the duke of Ferrara sent to congratulate him [48]. In the beginning of January, 1503 [49], the Florentine republic dispatched the lord Jacopo Salviati, to express to him their joy at the news of his good fortune and especially of the extinction of their common enemies [50]. Isabella, the marchioness of Mantua, wrote to Cesar on the 15th of the same month, to tell of the satisfaction and pleasure procured by his success to the marquis, her husband, and to herself ; and to congratulate him on his prosperity and escape from danger [51]. Finally, about the same time, the king of France wrote that he rejoiced with the Pope at the capture and punishment of the rebel lords, and he praised the duke of Valentinois for having administered due penalty to them, after they had contrived a new treachery against him [52].

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46. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 478, n. 2, from Sanuto, Diar., IV, 205.
47. See Document 176.
48. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 288.
49. On the 9th, Alvisi says, Cesare Borgia, p. 365.
50. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 410, and footn. from Pietro Parenti, Stor. Fiorent., Ms.; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diar., p. 71 ; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 476 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 478 n. 2.
51. See Document 177.
52. See Document 178.

Not only the princely courts attest the wicked design of the condottieri ; but, while Fileno mentions the accusation, the chronicles of Romagna either copy Cesar de Borgia's circular letters, or call traitors the lords who had been put to death. In the archives of Savignano there is a copy, made in the year 1540, from a record of a certain Girolamo Benci of Savignano, who wrote on the occasion of the birth of one of his daughters, in the month of February, 1503 : " During the reign of Our Most Illustrious Lord, the duke of Valentinois and of Romagna, there was a great war between our said duke and the Orsini and Vitellozzo, and the said Orsini and Vitellozzo had planned to kill our said duke in Senigallia ; and, as it was God's will, the plot was detected, and our duke put to death some of the Orsini and Vitellozzo in the said city of Senigallia " [53]. The author of a contemporary manuscript [54] writes that Cesar de Borgia knew his four prisoners to be sworn confederates against him.

Giov. Batt. Rampaldi wrote, in the year 1502, in his " Manuale di Cronologia Universale ", page 432 [55] that " the common people were glad to see the destruction of those princes, who had tyrannized over them beyond measure ", and Francis Uberti wrote a poem in which the duke of Romagna was praised : With a strong hand thou hast cast down the Vitelli and the raging Orsini, " Fortiter et vitulos sternens ursosque furentes " [56].

Machiavelli relates in his " Legazione al Duca Valentino ", as an eyewitness, the events that took place at the ducal court, both preceding and following the tragedy of Senigallia; and nowhere does he insinuate the least doubt of the guilt of the treacherous condottieri ; nay, it is upon his request of

53. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 364.
54. Bibl. Vatic. Politicorum Varia, vol. XLVII, fo 338vo, or fo 369vo.
55. Ap. Cerri, Borgia ossia Alessandro VI Papa, vol. II, p. 63.
56. H. A. Brann, ap. Catholic World Magazine, vol. XLIV, p. 14.

the 8th of January, 1503, that the Florentine republic decided to congratulate the duke of Valentinois on having put an end to their common enemies. Yet, the same Machiavelli gives in his " Descrizione del Modo tenuto dal duca Valentino nell' ammazzare Vitellozzo etc. ", afterwards written in Florence, a minute description of the tragic events of Senigallia, so as to cast upon the duke the blame of long-contrived deception and of cruel perfidy.

The official dispatches of the ambassador Machiavelli and the testimonies of other contemporary writers clearly prove that the " Descrizione " of the historian Machiavelli contains several particulars which are simply unhistorical. Such are the second flight to Venice of the duke of Urbino, who is well known to have fled to Citta di Castello and to Pitigliano ; the pretended dismissal by Cesar de Borgia of the French troops, in order to deceive more effectively his condottieri; the withdrawal of these troops after the capture of Senigallia, although the last of their companies passed through Bologna, the 24th of December, on their return to Milan, while Senigallia was taken on the 28th [57]. These and other misstatements deprive the " Descrizione " of all, or nearly all, its historical authority.

This faulty and misleading description has, however, been readily accepted and introduced into general history by writers hostile to the Borgias, among whom it may suffice to mention the recent H. de l'Epinois, who states, without making any remark or observation : " It has been said that Cesar de Borgia has surprised his condottieri and treacherously slain them, and he has been accused of cruelty " [58]. Pastor justly notices that Machiavelli's " Descrizione " is incorrect being the work of a man who cares little for historic truth ; yet he agrees, to call by the name of murder, " Blutthat ", the action of Cesar in Senigallia. He then adds that " afterwards some

57. Cfr. Alvisi, ubi supra, pp. 365, seq.

58. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t XXIX, p. 415.

apologists have tried to justify the misdeed, by saying without giving any proof ", that it was a case of self-defence. The fact is that the justification was set forth, not afterwards, but at once by Cesar himself ; and, are they no proofs : Cesar's public assertions, easily proved true or false ; the confession of the culprits, the felicitations of princes, the records of chroniclers, and the implicit admission of the justification by ambassador Machiavelli ? Pastor assumes the appearance of fairness when he closes with the statement : " Yet, it is very possible that Cesar was justified in his action " [59].

59. Es ist aber leicht möglich, dass es sich so verhielt : Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 463.

CHAPTER XV.

Events following upon the tragedy of Senigallia.

ARTICLE I. — CARDINAL ORSINI IS IMPRISONED AND DIES.

In the morning of the 1st of January, 1503, the castle of Senigallia freely surrendered to Cesar de Borgia, after its castellan, Andreas Doria, had fled during the previous night. The same morning, Cesar departed for Corinaldo, on his way to Cagli, Citta di Castello and Perugia [1], and farther towards Rome. He took with him Paulus and Franciscus Orsini, with the intention of instituting further legal proceedings before a regular Roman court, against them and against cardinal John Baptist and Julius Orsini, whom, he was confident, the Pope would have arrested in due time [2].

Cesar had, indeed, made haste to inform the Sovereign Pontiff of his progress from Cesena to Senigallia, of the new plot against his life and of the punishment inflicted on the principal conspirators ; and he had requested him to detain in Rome their accomplices, the cardinal and his brother, Julius Orsini. His message had been received during the night from the 2d to the 3d of January, 1503 [3].

Çurita, who wrote in Spain after the middle of the sixteenth century asserts that the tragedy of Senigallia had been concerted with the cooperation of pope Alexander VI [4], and many

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1. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 383.
2. E quivi, in Rome, si formera il processo contro di loro, e juridicamente si giudicheranno ; Machiavelli, Die 2 Januarii, 1503, Legazione al Duca Valentin., Opere, vol. V, p. 387.
3. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 301 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 230; Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 69.
4. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. V, Cap. 11, f° 261.

subsequent writers have extended to the Pontiff their severe reprobation of Cesar de Borgia's actions on this occasion. It appears, however, that the proceedings and events of the whole tragedy were not the effect of a prearranged plan, but a result of unforeseen circumstances, if not rather a consequence of the criminal design of the victims themselves.

Pope Alexander VI had learned, it seems about the beginning of December, of Cesar's animosity and hostile projects against Vitellozzo Vitelli, and had written to him not to assail Vitellozzo, before having in his power Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, the duke of Urbino [5] ; but he had been kept ignorant of Cesar's doings and designs ever since the latter's arrival in Cenesa.

On the 22d of December it was said at the papal court that Cesar would be in Rome after a few days [6].

On the 25th, Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, reported that the Pope complained of the duke's tardiness to arrive, and blamed him for uselessly spending time in Cesena [7].

On the 29th, all Rome was expecting that the duke would come soon [8].

On the 31st, the Pope had been told that the duke had proceeded towards the Marches and Senigallia ; but we have no certainty of it, because he does not write, he said, and he asked for information from Giustinian. When the ambassador answered him that most people thought Cesar's move had been ordered by His Holiness, he quickly replied : " In truth, my lord Speaker, We know nothing of it. We even have written to him that he ought not to continue the expenses, but dismiss his soldiers and come to Rome as soon as the affairs of Urbino and Camerino are settled ; We look for him after a few days " [9].

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5. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 307.
6. Villari, ibid., p. 283.
7. Id. ibid., p. 286.
8. Id. ibid., p. 293.
9. Id. ibid., p. 296.

On the 1st of January, 1503, the Pontiff informed the assembled cardinals and ambassadors that, on the previous night, he had received a letter, telling him of the surrender of Senigallia to Oliverotto da Fermo in favor of Cesar de Borgia [10], " and he simulated to have known nothing of it beforehand ", it is added by Giustinian, the hostile envoy of greedy Venice, foiled by Cesar's success [11].

Finally, after being fully apprised, between the 2d and the 3d day of January of the recent events of Senigallia, the Pope complained to the envoy of Ferrara of Cesar's haste in putting to death Vitellozzo Vitelli in spite of certain directions which he had given [12].

It clearly follows from this last item of information that pope Alexander VI did not cooperate towards the tragedy, and from each of Giustinian's preceding statements it is equally evident that he did not even have any foreknowledge of the lot which befell the disappointed conspirators in Senigallia.

Far from preconcerting the capture of Paulus and Franciscus Orsini, in particular; it may be said that pope Alexander VI after his reconciliation with them and their accomplices of La Magione, was favorably disposed towards the Orsini, offering to them whatever troops he had in Rome, to help them resist the Savelli, who were attacking their city of Palumbara and other places [13].

When, between the 2d and the 3d of January, 1503, the Pope had been informed of the intended attempt upon the life of his captain, Cesar de Borgia, and of the capture of Paulus and Franciscus Orsini, he passed the remainder of the night in active preparations, for the apprehension and punishment

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10. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 230.
11. Villari, ubi supra, p. 298.
12. Id. ibid., p. 307.
13. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 261, 276 : Dec. the 9th and 19th.

of the Orsini and their relatives who were then in Rome [14]. Early the next morning, he sent word to cardinal John Baptist Orsini, requesting him to call at once at the apostolic palace [15]. No sooner had the cardinal appeared than he was detained and sent up to the papal apartments of the " Torre Borgia " [16], where he was attended by his own servants [17].

On the same day, January the 3d, were also arrested and placed in the castle of Sant' Angelo, Rinaldo Orsini, archbishop of Florence ; Giovanbaptista Orsini, a prothonotary apostolic ; the abbot Bernardino, a brother of the lord Bartholomew d'Alviano married to a lady Orsini, and James Santa Croce, a friend and habitual ally of the Orsini barons, who was retained at the Vatican palace [18]. Besides these, Giustinian mentions Anthony Santa Croce [19], and Burchard reports [20] Carlo Orsini as imprisoned late that night.

Two more Roman prelates, Anthony de Spiritibus, a prothonotary apostolic, and the bishop of Cesena, an assessor at the papal supreme tribunal, were found guilty of participation in

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14. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 302.—The penalties for such crimes were, according to public law, the loss of all temporal possessions and of life, but the Pope used to mercifully commute the capital punishment by perpetual incarceration.

15. Villari, ibid., p. 301 ; Raph. Maffei, Anthropologia ; Burchard reports Diarum, t. III, p. 230, that the cardinal came to the palace to congratulate the Pontiff, who had apprised him, he says, of the surrender of the fortress Senigallia. But the Pope had not learned of the capture at the time, Cesar's letter being written before it was made. Such news, moreover, might have aroused the suspicion of the failure of his relatives' nefarious design, with the details of which he was probably well acquainted.

16. Not to the common prison of the " Torre di Nona ", as we read in Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 230, and in the Civiltà Cattolica, ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 664.

17. Villari, ubi supra, p. 305 ; Nardi, Istoria di Firenze, vol. I, p. 289.

18. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 230 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 301 and n., 302, 305 ; Raphael Maffei, Anthropologia ; Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 70 ; Nardi, Istorie de Firenze, vol. I, p. 289 ; Muzzi, Annali di Bologna, t. V, p. 447.

19. Villari, ubi supra, p. 302.

20. Ubi supra, p. 231.

the late conspiracy, and were, on the 6th of January, conducted to cells in the fortress of Sant' Angelo [21].

The prisoners were deprived of all their rights and their personal goods were confiscated on the same or the following day.

All these arrests caused a panic in Rome, and several members of the court and of the nobility took to flight or hid themselves ; but on the 7th of January, the Pontiff called to the palace the " Conservatores " and a large number of prominent people of the city, and quieted them by saying that they should be without fear, because those who had deserved it, were all detained now, and that he would forget all past offenses, if they should give no further ground for complaint [22].

One man, however, to whose capture the Pope attached great importance, had escaped his quest. Julius Orsini, who had been invited by his brother, the cardinal, to meet him near Rome, on the 4th, took to flight at the first news of his detention, and, taking with him his wife, one of his sons, and some little children of the lord Paulus Orsini, he found security in the Neapolitan province of Abruzzi, at the castle of his cousin Giangiordano Orsini, whom he assisted against Cesar de Borgia, in Ceri, towards the end of the month of January [23].

Most of the prisoners lost their earthly possessions and remained incarcerated till after the demise of pope Alexander VI; being liberated as late as the 20th and 22d of August, 1503 [24].

Already on the 3d of January a summary trial had been held, at which James Santa Croce informed against his fellow

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21. Villari, Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian, vol. I, p. 313 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 232 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 416.

22. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 314, 320.

23. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 308, 310, 358 ; Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 69.

24. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, pp. 245, 246, 247 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 143.

culprits [25], and was restored to liberty the next day, after having pledged all his possessions as security that he would present himself whenever the Pope might require [26].

The archbishop of Florence was able to establish his innocence, and was set free shortly after [27] ; but cardinal Orsini seems to have admitted his guilt [28], and resigned himself to the loss of not only his personal property but also of his feudal possessions. On the 5th of January, with the cardinal's consent and countersigns, James Santa Croce and the prothonotary Orsini accompanied Jofre de Borgia at the head of the papal troops, to take possession of Monte Rotondo and of other Orsini places [29].

The same day, after vespers, the Sacred College of cardinals called on the Pontiff, to intercede for their imprisoned colleague ; but the Pope told them of the conspiracy against the life of his Captain, the duke of Valentinois ; to the reality of which, de l'Epinois says [30], Cardinal Orsini had confessed since his arrest. He promised to accept all possible exculpations and not to be in the least unjust to the cardinal ; and added that he had, this very day, granted his request of being transferred to the castle of Sant' Angelo, although he himself had intended to keep him at the palace and to have him served well, according to his rank [31].

The cardinal's mother was daily sending two servants with

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25. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 307 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 416.

26. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 231 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 307; Raphael Maffei, Anthropologia.— Santa Croce was afterwards found to act treacherously against the Pontiff again, was caught and hanged on June 8th, 1503 : Villari, ibid., vol. I, p. 309 and vol. II, p 35.

27. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 289.

28. H. de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 415.

29. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 310 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 232 ; Raphael Maffei, Anthropologia : " consentiente cardinale " ; Cfr. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 480.

30. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 415.

31. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 232 ; Villari, Dispacci, t. I, p. 312.

food and drink for her son now in Sant' Angelo [32], and Giustinian wrote to Venice, on the 23d of January, that cardinal Orsini was in his usual good health [33].

On the 15th of February, the cardinal had become ill and was at times delirious with fever [34].

Before the 20th, he had offered to the Pope twenty-five thousand ducats, as price for his liberty ; but the Pontiff cheered him up and commanded him to be of good courage and to mind his health only now ; adding that all would be well, after he should have recovered ; and to the attending physicians he recommended all care to restore the patient to health again [35].

On the 22d, the cardinal was nearing his last, and the physicians had no longer hope of saving his life. In fact, he died that day [36].

In the evening, the corpse was carried to the church of Our Savior, where it was exposed, and honorably buried in the presence of the Pontiff's attendants and of the cardinals who were living at the palace [37].

Hearing of a rumor spreading among the common people, as usual on similar occasions, that the cardinal had been poisoned, pope Alexander VI convoked all the physicians who had attended upon the deceased, and made them state under oath, what had been the nature of his sickness. They testified that he had died a natural death, and not in consequence of poison or of any other violence. An official report of their depositions and other acts were drawn up [38].

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32. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 236.
33. Vilari, ubi supra, p. 358.
34. Villari, ubi supra, p. 398 : Dà segni di frenesia ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 485.
35. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 327; H. de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 416.
36. Id. ibid., pp. 406, 409 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 237.
37. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 409 and n. ; Burchard, ubi supra.
38. Villari, ubi supra, p. 411.

Burchard says [39] that the Roman populace, " vulgus ", asserted that cardinal Orsini had drunk from a chalice prepared for him by the Pope ; but no educated contemporary of Rome, not even Burchard himself, ever made such a statement. Raynaldi writes [40] : *Existimatum " vulgo " fuisse illum* (cardinal Orsini) *veneno sublatum tradit Buchardus ;* which, in modern Latin, means : Burchard relates that cardinal Orsini was " commonly " believed to have been taken away by poison. But the text and context of Burchard is [41] : The Pope allowed, on the 1st of February, that two servants of the cardinal's mother should henceforth carry his food and drink, *cibum et potum,* to the detained cardinal, *qui interim, ut " a vulgo " affirmabatur biberat calicem, ordinatione et jussu Pape sibi paratum ;* the literal meaning of which is : The cardinal, as it was asserted " by the populace ", had already drunk from the chalice prepared for him by arrangement and order of the Pope. Raynaldi's verbal construction expresses a statement of Burchard, while Burchard's original terms cast discredit on the statement attributed to him. This observation equally applies to Burchard's distortion made by Thuasne [42]. The fact is that, after the cardinal had eaten and drunk for twenty days the victuals prepared by his mother, he died on the 21st of June ; and Burchard remarks [43], not that he was killed by poison, as the populace might have imagined, but simply : *Cardinalis de Ursinis obiit in castro S. Angeli, cujus anima requiescat in pace. Amen.* The cardinal Orsini passed away in the castle of Sant' Angelo. May his soul rest in peace. Amen.

von Pastor thinks [44] that Burchard made a disparaging innuendo, when saying that he absented himself from the car-

39. Ibidem, p. 236.
40. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1503, no. VIII.
41. Diar., t. III, p. 236.
42. Burchardi Diar., t. III, p. 238, n. 1 : Biberat calicem, come dit Burchard.
43. Ibid., p. 237.
44. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 464, n. 5.

dinal's funeral, as he was " not willing to know any more than it behooves ". Burchard simply expressed here his spite, because his colleagues had been chosen by the Pope to direct the ceremonies on this occasion ; therefore, " propterea ", he refused to have anything to do with the function, " non interfui neque aliquo modo me intromisi ". Moreover, he well knew that by conducting the funeral service he would not learn the cause of the cardinal's death [45].

Giustinian, the ambassador of Venice in Rome, who had maliciously prophesied a violent death for cardinal Orsini [46], simply reports his demise, without a word about poison or other violence [47]. The Florentine envoy, Soderini, and the one of Ferrara, Costabili, relate the same in their dispatches, and so do Brancatalini and Biagio Buonaccorsi in their diaries [48].

Of the historians who wrote from hearsay, Aegidius of Viterbo is the first to affirm that cardinal Orsini died of poison [49] ; but his accompanying remarks destroy the credibility of his assertion. Sansovino is the second and last who declares the cardinal's death to have been caused by poison; but how wrongly he had been informed appears from the fact, that he makes him die already on the 12th day of January, " a dodici de Gennaio si mori di veleno " [50]. All later historians set forth the tale of the poison with the slanderer's phrase: " they say " or " it is believed " [51].

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45. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 237-238.

46. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 305, 306, 312, 358, 364.

47. Id. ibid., p. 409; Heri morite el cardinal Ursino.

48. H. de l'Epinois, Rev. des quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 416 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 419; Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 69.

49. Historia XX soeculorum, ap. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod. C. 8, 19, f° 326.

50. Casa Orsina, p. 132vo.

51. Raphael Maffei, Anthropologia : Causa mortis omnibus facile judicata ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, Vol. I, p. 289 : come ad ogni modo ne fu l'universale opinione ; The Archiv. Vatic., Varia Politicorum, vol. XLVII, p. 371vo : Il papa fece, come si disse, morire di veleno il cardinale Orsino ; Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, vol. II, Cap. V, p. 49 : Sparsa voce fosse ammalato (the car-

Among the modern writers, the Civiltà Cattolica [52] makes the unwarranted assertion that " while it was said the cardinal had died of fever, the greater number believed him to be a victim of poison ", " i piu credettero, di veleno ". Gregorovius writes as we might have expected from his bitter prejudice : " The cardinal was poisoned in the castle of Sant' Angelo " [53]! Pastor seems to hesitate [54] ; but there is no room left for doubt, since we learn that, for two weeks or more, he suffered of high fever and received the greatest cares of several doctors of medicine ; moreover, we hear these physicians testify under oath to the nature of his illness, that baffled their skill, and to the absence of poison or of any violence. We do not hear one of several witnesses then present in Rome, and rather hostile to the Pope, make the least hint at poison, when relating the cardinal's death.

ARTICLE II. — CAGLI, CITTA DI CASTELLO AND PERUGIA TAKEN FOR THE POPE.

As soon as his exploits of Senigallia were accomplished, the duke of Valentinois, bent upon the further punishment of his treacherous enemies, proceeded to the city of Corinaldo, where he arrived in the evening of the 1st of January, 1503, and remained the following day [55]. From this place he sent, to take possession of Cagli still held for Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, his commissary, Galeotto of Rimini. The people, however, shut their gates to him and the bishop of Cagli, Gaspar Golfi of La Pergola, even incited them to oppose the

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dinal), more in palazzo (1), come si credette certissimamente, di veleno ; Contelorius, Pars altera Elenchi S. R. E. cardinalium, p. 77 : Joannes Baptista de Ursinis expiravit, ut aliqui tradunt, veneno.

52. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 665.

53. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s 290.

54. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 464 and n. 5.

55. Villari, Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian, vol. I, p. 327, n.

captains, Micheletto da Coreglia and Ugo di Moncada, whom Cesar dispatched at once to reduce and punish the city ; but the inhabitants surrendered soon, and happily escaped, through Moncada's kindness, the horrors of pillage and devastation ; the bishop, however, was put to death [56].

Proceeding towards the possessions of the conspirators, Cesar de Borgia departed from Corinaldo, in the morning of the 3d, for Sassoferrato, and advanced to Gualdo, early on the 5th of January [57]. Arriving here that same day, he met a delegation from the people of Citta di Castello, who, happy at the flight of their masters [58], had come to surrender to him their city and its territory [59]. Vitellozzo Vitelli was no longer there to protect his possessions, and his troops had been dispersed. Julius Vitelli, a nephew of Vitellozzo and bishop of Citta di Castello, had watched the movements of the Duke and seen the storm approaching; and had, already on the 4th, fled, with all his relatives, to Gianpaolo Baglione in Perugia, leaving Castello in the charge and care of its inhabitants [60]. Guidobaldo, the former duke of Urbino, who was a refugee in Citta di Castello for several weeks, left for Perugia with him, and afterwards fled to Pitigliano and Venice [61].

Cesar refused to receive Citta di Castello for himself, but accepted it for the Church, to which it rightly belonged [62].

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56. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 116 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, pp. 129, 130, n.

57. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca Valentino, Opere, vol. V, pp. 390, 392 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 327, n.

58. Yriarte, Les Borgia, t. II, p. 132.

59. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 317.

60. Machiavelli, ubi supra— Julius Vitelli, who was a worldly prince more than a bishop, was exiled to Venice, on the 20th of July : Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 186, n., and deprived of his see, " suis exigentibus meritis ", in the Consistory of August 4th, 1503 : Rome, Bibl. Vallicellana, Cod. I, 60, f° 13.

61. Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 70 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 339 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 119 ; Sansovino ; Casa Orsina, p. 132vo.

62. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 392. Cfr. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI, Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 139; where, by brief

This recovery was most agreeable to pope Alexander VI, because, Leonii says [63], he would not and could not allow the tyranny of the Vitelli in his State. No wonder if it was celebrated with the firing of cannon at the castle of Sant' Angelo, and with other signs of rejoicing all over Rome [64].

The fugitives, Julius Vitelli and Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, did not find the desired safety in Perugia.

The duke of Valentinois had written from Corinaldo, on the 2d of January, to the magistrates of Perugia. He had informed them of the machinations of their lord, Gianpaolo Baglione and of his accomplices against his States and his lite ; had told them of his projects to liberate them from the rapacity of their bloody tyrant, and to restore their city to the benign rule of the Church ; he had commanded them to throw off at once the yoke of Gianpaolo and to send ambassadors who should make their obedience to the Pontiff ; and, finally, had threatened them with the use of force, in case of need, to make them perform those duties [65].

This letter, received on the 4th, was acted upon immediately. Gianpaolo Baglione was disposed at first to resist, but dared not refuse the demands of the people ; and, to their great joy, he left Perugia that very day [66]. Late at night on the 5th, a

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of the 30th of May, 1503, pope Alexander VI establishes, until revocation, the papal notary Arnold de Sca. Cilia as governor, for and in the name of the Roman Church, of Citta di Castello, of the castles of Montone and of Cisterna and of the adjoining districts and territories.

63. Bartholomeo d'Alviano, p. 38

64. Villari, ubi supra, p. 317.

65. See Document 175.

66. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 309, 318.—Footn. 1 of the latter page should have been omitted.—Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 290, notices Baglione's tyranny, his crimes and his incestuous life. Gozzadini, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, p. 151, writes of him : He opened for himself, by the murder of his cousins and nephews, the way to the sovereign power, which he now holds with an iron hand. His wicked incestuous life fills the city with reproof ; his confiscations and proscriptions, made to suit his fancy, fill the Roman court with exiles. But the soldiers held at his pay are numerous and well trained.

messenger arrived in Gualdo, to tell the Duke how Gianpaolo, Fabio Orsini and the Vitelli, with the remnants of their troops, had fled from Perugia and gone to Siena ; and how, after their departure, the people had risen and acclaimed : " Duca, Duca ", to invite him [67]. This particular makes, Burchard says, [68] that Perugia submitted to the immediate government of the Pope on the 5th of January ; but Machiavelli, who was present, plainly states that, the following morning, on the 6th, two ambassadors of Perugia arrived and confirmed the news of the previous night, and, as soon as they could obtain an audience of the Duke, offered their city to him. But, as he had acquired Citta di Castello, so also did he accept Perugia for the Pope and the Church [69].

On the occasion of the Baglioni's flight from Perugia to Siena, an incident took place, that was afterwards greatly misrepresented, so as to blame the Pope and disgrace his Captain General. May it suffice here to indicate its principal details.

Pantasilea Baglione, who was a sister of Gianpaolo and the second wife of Bartholomew d'Alviano, was arrested by papal soldiers, together with her sister married to Giovanni of Todi, and another lady; and, by order of Cesar de Borgia, they all were taken to the city of Todi and placed in charge of its castellan [70]. d'Alviano being a condottiere of Venice, the Seigniory and their ambassador, Giustinian, insisted with the Pontiff upon the ladies' speedy release [71]. As soon as the Pope was informed of the fact, he sent a peremptory brief to cardinal Serra, the legate of Perugia and Todi, demanding the liberation of the prisoners [72] ; but Cesar, who hated Pantasilea's brother and was no friend of her husband, was in

67. Villari, ubi supra, p. 319 ; Machiavelli, ubi supra, p. 392.
68. Diar., t. III, p. 232.
69. Machiavelli, ubi supra, pp. 392, 400.
70. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 132vo ; Villari, Dispacci, p. 337 and footn. and p. 350.
71. Villari, ibid., pp. 338, 350.
72. Id. ibid., p. 339.

no hurry to give the necessary orders. Upon the ambassador's further urgency, the Pope dispatched another letter to Cesar himself, positively ordering him to liberate the fair captives [73]. On the 3d of February, Giustinian was shown a letter, which announced that the ladies had been given their liberty [74]. Yet this mercenary enemy of the Borgias wrote to Venice a few days later : " It is said that d'Alviano's wife has been led into the camp of the duke of Valentinois " [75] ; and, although the letter which he had seen was soon confirmed, he never revoked his slander [76].

ARTICLE III. — TROUBLE WITH PANDOLFO PETRUCCI, LORD OF SIENA.

On the 7th of January, Cesar left Gualdo and arrived in Assisi, where, the following day, he held a long conference with some envoys of Siena, who had come to avert from their city his threatened assaults. They asked him what reason he might have for his hostile design. He answered them that he had always loved Siena and did not intend to make war against her, but was resolved to drive away their tyrant, Pandolpho Petrucci, who had conspired against him and who, after peace had been restored, had tried to ensnare him again [77], and, who, not satisfied with tyrannizing one of the first cities of Italy, pretended to impose his will on all his neighbors. He dismissed them with the assurance that, if by any means they should expel him, peace would be made [78].

Pandolpho had, however, already made extensive preparations for defence, both about the city and in its vast territory.

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73. Id. ibid., p. 352.
74. Id. ibid., p. 374.
75. Villari, ibid., p. 387.
76. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 375.
77. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133.
78. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 395.

His numerous hired soldiers were now reenforced by the troops of Gianpaolo Baglione, by Fabio Orsini with the remnants of his father's, Paulus Orsini's, and Vitellozzo Vitelli's forces, among whom were three hundred men-at-arms [79]. The Pope feared for the success of his Captain's enterprise against Siena, and directed him to desist from it [80]; but Cesar, encouraged by his late good fortune, was confident of obtaining his every wish [81].

He had, indeed, about this same time, enjoyed other unexpected successes. Giustinian [82] makes the improbable assertion that afterwards, pope Alexander VI was negotiating with Perugia the cession of three of its castles, and with the cities of Fermo and Ascoli, their submission to the duke of Valentinois ; and likely the marchioness of Mantua had been misinformed, when on the 10th of January, 1503, she wrote to her husband, that Ancona had freely chosen Cesar de Borgia as its lord [83] ; but we know from a letter, written on the 1st of February, 1503, by Cesar himself, that, besides Citta di Castello and Perugia, he had reduced to the obedience of His Holiness the cities of Fermo, Cisterna and Montone [84].

The duke of Valentinois advanced, on the 9th of January, from Assisi to Torgiano [85], which place he left, on the 11th, for the town of Spedaletto [86], on his way to Siena, and arrived on the 13th in Castel della Pieve [87]. Here he stopped a few days, to repair some bridges which the Sienese had destroyed, in order to prevent his ingress into their territory [88].

Giustinian assures us that Pandolpho Petrucci, besides

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79. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 319.
80. Id. ibid., p. 365.
81. Machiavelli, ubi supra, p. 396.
82. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 37.
83. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I. Append., vol. II, p. 265.
84. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, Docum. 47.
85. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 334, n. ; Machiavelli, ubi supra, p. 400.
86. Machiavelli, ibid.
87. Villari, ubi supra, p. 334, n.
88. Id. ibid., p. 341-342.

gathering a considerable number of troops, had made an accord with the lord of Bologna [89] ; but the fact is that Cesar de Borgia had, in due time, provided for the papal ratification of his treaty with the Bentivoglios, and, on the 13th of January, being then in Castel della Pieve, he published it in all his States and in his camp. Consequently, when making his last preparations for the siege of Siena, he obtained from Bologna a reenforcement of fifty lances and of a hundred mounted crossbowmen [90].

Having learned that cardinal Orsini and several abettors of the Orsini barons had been rendered innocuous and imprisoned in Rome, but that the chevalier Fabio, with his father's cavalry, was infesting the neighborhood of the City, the duke of Valentinois gave orders, on the 18th of January, to inflict on Paulus Orsini, and Franciscus, the duke of Gravina, the punishment of death, incurred through their repeated conspiracy against him [91]. The news of their execution reached Rome on the 23d [92].

The two Orsini were hardly dead, when Cesar withdrew from Castel della Pieve, entered the Sienese territory and took possession of the towns of Sarteano, Cetona and Chiusi [93].

Machiavelli relates [94] that, about this time, Cesar de Borgia said to him : " The Pope tries with his letters to lull the Sienese to sleep ; but, in the meantime, I go ahead with my army, for it is right to beguile one who has been a master of treachery ". This report is the principal, if not the sole, foundation of the widespread charge of duplicity and deceit against pope Alexander VI, in his political intercourse with contemporary

89. Villari, ibid., p. 343.

90. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 412 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 448 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 482, n. 1.

91. Sansovini, Casa Orsina, p. 133 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 234, who mistakes by saying that the chevalier Fabio also was hanged.

92. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 356.

93. Villari, ibid., pp. 354, 355.

94. Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 400.

princes. It is possible that Cesar spoke such or similar words, perhaps to excuse his neglect of orders received ; but the Pontiff's critical situation in and about Rome would by itself suffice to establish the honesty and sincerity of his efforts to make peace with Siena and Pandolpho Petrucci. The Pope did not at this time, meditate any further conquests, but was anxious to see his Captain General arrive with his army, and repel the assaults of the rebellious Roman barons, who were plundering and devastating his territories in the neighborhood of Rome, and threatening the safety of the City itself. It is but natural that the Pontiff should have welcomed the envoys of Siena [95], and should have written to Pandolpho himself, offering him all desirable security, to come to Rome and secure an honorable understanding ; thus to deprive the duke of Valentinois of all pretext for staying away any longer [96].

He continued to write to Cesar. On the 8th of January, he directed him to relinquish his project against Pandolpho, who was, he justly remarked, under the protection of the king of France [97]. On the 22d, he protested to Giustinian that he had written times and again, but that Cesar went ahead in spite of him, and had already taken Chiusi and some other castles of Siena. " We assure you, " he added, " that, during our whole pontificate, nothing has displeased Us more ; and yet, We must have patience ; he wills it so, and thinks that he has nothing to fear from Us, when he does what he is doing " [98]. Giustinian informed the doge of Venice, on the 25th, that the Pope had been writing to the Duke frequently to make him enter, by any means, into some accord with Pandolpho Petrucci ; because he is afraid, he said, that the Duke might end this struggle with loss and ignominy [99].

95. Villari, ibid., pp. 327, 331.
96. Villari, ibid., p. 363 ; Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 411.
97. Villari, ibid., p. 327-328.
98. Villari, ibid., p. 351-352.
99. Villari, ibid., p. 363.

Who, but a deliberate slanderer, can, after all this evidence from an unfriendly witness, continue to accuse pope Alexander VI of having tried to hoodwink the Sienese, in order to procure for his Captain an opportunity to fall upon them unawares ?

Needless of the papal directions [100], whilst firmly determined to punish the treacherous Pandolpho Petrucci, before attending to anything else, Cesar de Borgia continued his march against Siena, as far as the city of Pienza, where he was on the 25th of January. His troops invaded the surrounding country and captured several towns, such as Montecchio and San Quirico, while other castles freely surrendered to them [101]. His French auxiliaries, who had remained with him, fierce soldiers from Gascony, ran all over the district close to Siena, and committed so many depredations and cruelties, that the poor people took to flight and sought refuge in the city [102]. Their distressing reports frightened the inhabitants so much, that they, although willing until then to defend their tyrant, went to him and requested that he leave the city, so as to satisfy the duke of Valentinois and thus save their lives. Pandolpho remembered the threatened revolt, which he had smothered in blood, at the beginning of the month [103], and so he considered it advisable not to refuse their demands [104]. On the 26th of January, 1503, he wrote to the Pope that he was ready to leave for Lucca, and during the night, of the 28th he departed for that city, together with the refugee of Perugia, Gianpaolo Baglione [105].

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100. Villari, Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 352, 362.
101. Villari, ibid., pp. 351, 362, 365.
102. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 234 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 362.
103. Villari, ibid., p. 300, 308 and n. 2 ; Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, Append., vol. II, p. 264.
104. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p 133.
105. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 235 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 293 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133, gives Florence instead of Lucca ; Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 71.

Cesar did not enter Siena, but sent his secretary, Agapito de' Gherardi of Amelia [106] to congratulate the people on having regained their liberty, and to urge them to declare Pandolpho a rebel banished from their city. This they did on the 30th of the same month [107].

We may take notice here of the fact, that already on the 29th of the following month of March, Pandolpho Petrucci resumed his former rank in Siena. He had bought for twenty thousand ducats, exacted from the people, the powerful protection of king Louis XII ; and the King's will, upheld by the Florentines, prevailed over the displeasure of Cesar de Borgia and of the Sienese, who were quite happy under their popular government during Petrucci's absence [108].

106. Villari, ubi supra, p. 369 ; Nardi, ubi supra, p. 294.

107. Villari, ibid., p. 384, and n 2.

108. Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, pp. 297, 298 ; Ammirato, Istorie Fiorent., t. V, p. 467 ; Molini, Documenti di Storia Ital., vol. I, p. 45 ; Supra, p. 527 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 101, 430; Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 415, n. ; Cfr. Archivio Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. II, p. 15.

CHAPTER XVI.

Wars against the Orsini.

ARTICLE I. — DESULTORY CAMPAIGN.

No sooner had the duke of Valentinois obtained satisfaction in Siena, than he hurried from Pienza towards Rome, where the Pope was sorely in need of his assistance.

The arrest of cardinal John Baptist Orsini had been for his brother, Julius, and the other members of the Orsini house a signal for open rebellion against their suzerain, pope Alexander VI. In the beginning of January, 1503, they succeeded in making an alliance with several of the expelled Colonna and Savelli lords, who, although their hereditary adversaries, understood that the threatened overthrow of the Orsini was to confirm their own ruin [1]. While Julius and Fabio Orsini made themselves strong in Cervetri and Bracciano, their allies, Muzzius Colonna and Silvius Savelli surprised and captured the town of Palombara [2]. Soon after, it was learned in Rome that Giangiordano Orsini, then at the service of Louis XII in the kingdom of Naples, was on his way back to Tagliacozzo, to join his relatives in their war against the Pontiff [3]. Thereupon Julius Orsini went, with three hundred horse and four hundred Corsicans, to the fortress of Ceri, eighteen miles only from Rome, and from this place scoured all the surrounding country, to the very gates of the papal City, doing all the damage he could [4]. On the 16th of January, the Pope could

1. Balan, Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 417 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 664.
2. Civiltà Cattol., ibid.
3. Balan, ubi supra.
4. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 334, 344.

not conceal his fear, when it was rumored that the Savelli, the Colonna and all other malcontents were to incite popular tumults in Rome itself ; and, the following night, the pontifical palace was full of excitement and anxiety [5].

No wonder. The Pontiff had no troops at hand to protect his people or himself, since the main body of the Vatican guard itself, under prince Jofre de Borgia, was engaged in trying to occupy the several places and castles of cardinal Orsini.

To ward off the danger, orders were dispatched at once to Jofre, who returned the same day, after having attained but meager success ; as many new soldiers as could be found were mustered into service and distributed to guard the gates and bridges of the City [6], and, a few days later, the Pope was able to send out a number of armed men, for the protection of several places in the vicinity; in particular, to Monticelli, Podium, Cantini, Monte Libretti and Castelnovo [7].

The Pontiff could not, however, prevent Fabio Orsini from joining, with a hundred and fifty horse, Silvio Savelli in Palombara, on the 20th of January, nor other Orsini bands from taking Ponte Nomentano, just outside the City, the following day [8]. About the same time he learned that Ludovico Orsini, son of the count of Pitigliano, had received and was sheltering in the castle of Pitigliano the rebellious Guidobaldo di Montefeltro [9]. On the 30th, he complained of the help given by Troilus Savelli to Fabio Orsini, who had assailed another castle of the Pontifical States [10].

Neither the Orsini nor their allies had troops in sufficient

5. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 342-343.

6. Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, Accounts of private papal treasurer, 1503, Jan. 21, 24, etc.

7. Archiv. Vatic., ibid. Jan. 25 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1502-1508. Armar. 29. n. 55, f° 14 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 358.

8. Villari, ubi supra, p. 349 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 418.

9. Villari, ubi supra, p. 353.

10. Id. ibid., p. 368.

numbers to make any important acquisitions ; so they were conducting a guerrila warfare, with the main object of devastation and robbery. One of their last raids was upon the alum mines near Tolfa, the rent or revenues of which were a considerable aid to the Pontiff in defraying his constant wars with the cruel Turks. Julius Orsini ruined all their buildings, wrecked and destroyed the tools and implements for their operation, and took with him all that was of any value, besides all the grain and cattle found in the neighborhood [11]. This exasperated the Pontiff more than ever ; but, in the absence of his army and its captain, Cesar de Borgia, he was unable to punish the rebels or to attack them in their well protected lairs.

At last, Cesar de Borgia had arrived in Acquapendente, at the end of January, 1503. He was said to be indisposed, and the Pope sent to him his own physician, Bernard Buongiovanni, bishop of Vanosa [12]. On the 5th of February he was in Viterbo, and, on the 9th, he held a review of his troops, in the fields between that city and Montefiascone. His army consisted of six hundred men-at-arms, six hundred light horse, two thousand German and another two thousand French or Gascon men on foot, and of twenty pieces of artillery with ammunition, to which the Pontiff added several cannon tested in his presence. Under his command were, moreover, four hundred Bolognese cavalry and a great number of infantrymen [13]. The Pope procured him thirty thousand ducats wherewith to pay his troops on this occasion.

Before his Captain General should commence to attack his enemies, pope Alexander VI published, on the 7th of February an edict, by which he declared Julius, Fabio, Organtino and his son Franzotto, Lawrence, Francis and Giovanni Orsini,

11. Villari, ubi supra, p. 384.
12. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 371.
13. Villari, ibid., pp. 379, 383, 391.

the owner of the fortress of Ceri, as highway robbers and rebels of the States of holy Church. It was his outspoken intention [14] to inflict upon them due punishment and, for all time, to free himself and his subjects from their continual disloyalties, their treacheries and depredations.

The campaign against them was conducted, however, in a desultory, sluggish manner, and, as it were, in spite of the will and wishes of the papal commander. In consequence of many complaints brought against the Borgias before him, the king of France had ordered his ambassadors in Rome to remit, on the 3d of February, a letter to the Pope, in which he expressed his dissatisfaction at the recent disturbances in Italy, advised the Pontiff to curb the duke of Valentinois in his undertakings, and stated, in particular, that he shall consider as done against himself whatever damage might be done to Giangiordano Orsini, his faithful condottiere in the kingdom of Naples [15]. These threats of Louis XII made little impression upon the resolute will of pope Alexander VI, but they exerted their intended effect upon Cesar de Borgia, who leisurely remained in Viterbo for twenty continuous days with his main army, to the great detriment of that place [16]; and was singularly inactive and negligent as long as the ensuing campaign lasted.

During their first excursions in the province of the Patrimony, the papal condottieri captured several places of the Orsini barons, but Cesar took care that they should not molest Bracciano, the principal castle of Giangiordano. He kept on friendly terms with the King's protegee, who, in return, allowed him, at the beginning of the month of February, free camping grounds on his territories, Bracciano excepted, and on the

14. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 395-396.

15. Villari, ibid., p. 377; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133.

16. Bussi, Istoria di Viterbo, p. 291, from a contemporary ms.; Villari, ubi supra, p. 402.

condition that the places he had lost should be restored to him [17].

Aware of his Captain's dispositions, while eager to save the Pontifical States from the recurring rebellions of the Roman barons, pope Alexander VI requested Giangiordano Orsini, towards the middle of February, to cede to him his feudal territories and to accept in compensation the equivalent possessions of the prince of Squillace, whom he was to indemnify with other properties ; but the independent baron peremptorily refused, adding that he would rather entrust his States to the French ambassadors, in the name of their King [18]. The Pontiff, therefore, urged the duke of Valentinois to proceed to the attack of Bracciano, and sent him cannon for that purpose [19]. A few days after, one of Cesar's commissioners took five or six of Giangiordano's castles, and, later, the fortress of l'Isola was captured ; but the fortified Bracciano remained intact and unassailed [20].

It seemed about this time that the duke of Valentinois was preparing for some important expedition, since he published an order, signed the 12th of February, by virtue of which the surrounding papal cities were to contribute a certain number of pioneers or workmen, to assist in the operations of his artillery [21] ; but this action appears to have had no special consequence. After having assigned to his condottieri and captains the several objectives of their future excursions, Cesar left Viterbo at last, and arrived in Rome on the 26th of the same month of February, in company with the cardinals

17. Villari, ibid., p. 387.—Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133, and Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 371, n., remark that both Giangiordano and Cesar de Borgia were members of the French royal order of St. Michael, and, as such were forbidden to wage war against each other, but were obliged to submit their dissensions to the award of the King.

18. Villari, ibid., p. 397.

19. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 237 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 390.

20. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 402, 413.

21. See Document 179.

de Borgia and de Albreto, and with an escort of fifty cavalrymen, whom he then sent back [22]. At the pontifical palace, he discussed with the Pope the new letters of the French king in favor of Giangiordano Orsini ; and further spent his time in walking about under the disguise of a mask, or enjoying his favorite pleasures of the chase in the Roman Campagna, while many of his troops disbanded and followed him into the City, where they caused much vexation and disturbance [23]. In the meantime his captains continued war in the Patrimony.

The Colonna and the Savelli, who held Palombara, had rejected at first the proposal of Cesar de Borgia, but in the beginning of the month of March, they concluded an accord with him, to the displeasure of the Sovereign Pontiff, who could not help distrusting them ; and, indeed, the Colonna, almost at the very same time, went over to Giangiordano Orsini, attempted to capture some of the papal cities and threatened Rome itself [24].

Bartholomew d'Alviano, closely related to the Orsini and Nicholas Orsini, count of Pitigliano, both condottieri of Venice, and Franciscus, the late duke of Gravina, were not under the protection of king Louis XII. Already on the 9th of February, while the Pope took possession of the town of Lugnano, belonging to the abbot d'Alviano, Cesar de Borgia had incited the neighboring cities to take and demolish the castle of Alviano, and would have captured all of d'Alviano's territories, if Venice had not sent Bartholomew himself to make a military demonstration on the confines of Romagna [25].

The count of Pitigliano had refused to take part in the conspiracy of La Magione and the subsequent machinations

22. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 412.
23. Villari, ibid., pp. 418, 429.
24. Villari, ibid., pp. 385, 412, 416 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 419.
25. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 387, 388 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 418; Alvisi Cesare Borgia, p. 370.

against the duke of Valentinois, and was considered as a dutiful subject by the Pontiff, who even promised him compensation for damages resulting from orders of his Captain General, and expressly exempted him from the recent condemnation of the Orsini barons [26]. In spite of the Pope's kindness, the count's son, Ludovico, granted a refuge in the castle of Pitigliano to the Vitelli and to Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, the Pope's and Cesar's public enemies ; and, not without good reason, did Cesar, in the commencement of the month of March, direct a part of his army into the district or against the fortress of Pitigliano [27]. At the complaint of the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, who tried to deceive him, the Pontiff gave orders at once, that his troops should withdraw from the territory, and never again enter upon it, for any reason or purpose whatever [28]; and Nicholas Orsini retained his States undisturbed thereafter. Although, in the following June, pope Alexander VI showed to Giustinian written evidence of the count's new disloyalty, he declared that, in consideration of the Venetian Seigniory, he would not take any revenge on his possessions [29].

On the 2d of March a division of the papal army went over some of the territories of the late duke of Gravina, Franciscus Orsini ; and, by the 10th, all of his castles and the city of Nerola were captured [30].

ARTICLE II. — THE WAR ENDS WITH THE FALL OF CERI.

Besides Bracciano and Vicovaro, there was still to be subdued the fortress of Ceri, the ancestral abode of the Orsini barons.

26. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 367, 393-394.
27. Villari, ibid., p. 418 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 117 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, t. V, p. 303.
28. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 326, 419-421.
29. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 44.
30. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 417, 428.

Ceri was eighteen miles from Rome, built on the almost inaccessible summit of a hard-stone mountain [31]. It was owned and regularly inhabited by Giovanni Orsini and his son, Renzo ; but, at the present time, it was the refuge of many of his relatives, and especially of Julius Orsini, who, at the head of a numerous garrison, was to conduct its defence against the attacks of the papal army. Michelletto da Coreglia and a della Mirandola, who had been named by Cesar de Borgia to direct the siege, had the place invested on the 2d of March and, soon after, assailed it with their artillery [32], without making any progress, and suffering considerably from the bullets and arrows of the defenders. In the absence of their Captain General, the discouraged soldiers soon lost all discipline, deserted their posts, and, at times, there were not a thousand men in the camp before Ceri [33].

On the 13th of March, pope Alexander VI ordered the duke of Valentinois to go and finish the interminable siege. Cesar took with him engineers and other experts, but their only hope of success was in a movable bastion or bridge, high enough to reach the level of the fortress and sufficiently large to carry three hundred combatants. The machine was put together on the Vatican grounds, and the Pope went every day to inspect it, although many practical men considered it as a vain labor and a useless expense [34].

Giustinian wrote on the 21st of March, that the Pontiff seemed to despair of the undertaking [35] ; and, indeed, on the 24th, he offered to pay to the Orsini, for the surrender of the fortress, twenty thousand ducats, and to give security for the

31. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 371, 430 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133.

32. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 416.

33. Villari, ibid., p. 429.

34. Villari, ibid., p. 431.—On the 4th of May, 1503, Albert of Placentia received for its construction the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight florins and fifty-one bolognese : Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, at the date.

35. Id. ibid., p. 445.

safety of their persons. As, however, they spurned his proposal, he resolved to make a last military effort [36]. The castle of Ceri was violently assailed for four consecutive days, no less than eight hundred cannon balls being fired on one of its walls, which, at last, on the 5th of April, collapsed dragging along, in its fall, part of an adjoining room, where the Orsini were gathered, and injuring Giovanni, the owner of the place and some of the others [37]. Then, as pope Alexander VI himself related to the Venetian ambassador, the defenders lost all courage and decided to surrender. Julius Orsini thought that the most efficacious way to obtain clemency would be, to go and throw himself at the feet of the Duke. With a halter around his neck, he went to meet him and placed at his mercy his own person, his wife and children and all of the stronghold. The Duke received him well and did not allow his soldiers to plunder the place. The Pope added: " In truth, Ceri has cost me till this day the sum of forty thousand ducats, but I appreciate the honor more than the money " [38].

On the 7th of April, Giustinian wrote to Venice, that now he knew the truth more fully from the mouth of Julius Orsini, who, together with Cesar de Borgia, had come to Rome, where he had been more than an hour with Our Lord and had been received most kindly. The Pontiff has set him free and let him go to the house of his mother. Tonight he will stop at the palace, and will go to Pitigliano tomorrow [39].

The following day, Julius took leave of the Pope, who allowed him to go, to stay anywhere and to do as he pleased; because, he said, he was not ill disposed towards him in the least, and was willing to consider him as a good subject.

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36. Villari, ibid., p. 445.
37. Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 74; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 464; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, t. V, p. 298.
38. Villari, ubi supra, p. 464.
39. Id. ibid., p. 466.

He even provided the unfortunate barons with the mules needed to transport their effects from Ceri to Pitigliano[40].

To deprive the Pontiff of the praises due to his habitual clemency and magnanimity towards his conquered enemies, some writers of the period of hatred and revenge pretend that Ceri surrendered on certain stipulated conditions to be observed by the Borgias [41]. Giustinian himself had not, on the 6th of April, believed the Pontiff's relation ; but, the next day, he learned that the lord Julius had, indeed, given up Ceri and himself at the discretion of the duke of Valentinois, requesting him only to spare the prominent inhabitants of the place [42].

The Pope placed Ceri under the direct administration of the Apostolic Chamber. He declared, on the following 1st of May, that he had intended to demolish the fortress ; but, fearing that it might become a safe resort for robbers and thieves, he thought it better to facilitate its access, by cutting flights of stairs into the mountain sides, and to destroy its wells and pits, so that an occasional dweller would be compelled to come down for water [43]. On the 22d of that month, the papal treasury paid fifty men hired to destroy the fortress [44].

Giangiordano Orsini was still in possession of Bracciano and of Vicovaro. This was a matter of much preoccupation to pope Alexander VI, who was anxious to be rid of this powerful neighbor, and thus to have peace and security for the city of Rome. To avoid the evils of further conflict, he

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40. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 470.

41. Raphael Volaterr., Anthropologia ; Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, vol. II, Lib. V, p. 52 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133.

42. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 465, 466 ; Branca da Talini, Diario, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. LIV, 22, f° 14; Cfr. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 377.

43. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 2.

44. Archiv. Vatic., Alex. VI, Julii II. Div. Cam., an. 1502 and 1508 : Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 52 ; ibid., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, at the date.

resolved, on the 24th of February to accept the offer recently made by Giangiordano of placing his States into the hands of the French king, who should in due time decide to whom they justly belonged ; but the baron found an excuse and refused to keep his word [45]. The Pope then ordered Cesar de Borgia to besiege Bracciano and, it is said, threatened him with taking himself the command of his army and with the severest penalties, if he should disobey [46]. Cesar, however, excused himself by alleging the repeatedly expressed will of the powerful king Louis XII and simply abstained from making any move against the two last strongholds of Giangiordano Orsini [47].

On the 3d of March, 1503, the Pontiff sent to France a certain Mosimpo, to explain the details of the case and the reasons he had to dispossess the disloyal and dangerous vassal ; and on the 18th, he dispatched another envoy, to obtain the King's permission to attack Giangiordano [48]. Louis XII did not give the requested assent, but even required restitution of the places taken from his condottiere, and wrote to his Roman ambassadors to go and, in his name, take official possession of the baron's estates, and to try to bring about a friendly understanding [49]. On the 5th of April, the French envoy, the lord de Gramont, took possession of Vicovaro, and the Pope sent the archbishop of Florence, Rinaldo Orsini, with him, instructing the prelate to enter with Giangiordano into further negotiations, which prepared a favorable conclusion ; for the baron seemed to be willing to accept a compensation [50]. The agreement, however, brought another solution. The French ambassador and a papal agent drew

45. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 410, 411.

46. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 483, 485 ; referring to Burchard and Giustinian, who relate nothing of the kind at the indicated date of the 20th of February.

47. After the capture of Ceri " caetera insectare supersedit ", says Raphael Volaterranus, Anthropologia.

48. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 418, 441.

49. Villari, ibid., pp. 442, 457.

50. Villari, ibid., pp. 462, 740.

up, on the 8th, an act by which Giangiordano Orsini gave up Bracciano and Vicovaro ; and the Pope entrusted the places already captured, to the safe-keeping of the king of France; yet so that each should keep actual possession of what he was holding, till the monarch should give his final award [51]. A truce was signed and Giangiordano received a passport for France [52].

This accord practically put an end to the campaign in the neighborhood of Rome. On the 17th of April, the duke of Valentinois had decided to send his troops to shelter ; a part, namely, in the Roman Campagna and another in the territory of Perugia, where seven hundred of his German soldiers received their pay, eight hundred and twelve florins and thirty-six bolognese [53]. Another body of his army went to camp in the northern districts of the Patrimony, and a fourth in Romagna. On the 19th he had already dismissed all his French or Gascon auxiliaries [54].

As a peculiarity of those times, we may notice that Cesar de Borgia invited as condottieri in his service some of the Orsini whom the Pope had allowed to take refuge in Pitigliano. Giustinian asserts that Renzo of Ceri refused the sold of his conqueror [55], but we find that other Orsini lords received pay, on May the 23d, for their engagement with the Most Illustrious Cesar de Borgia [56].

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51. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, pp. 377-378 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 74 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, pp. 291, 298.
52. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 486 and footn.
53. Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, May 31st.
54. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 482, 483.
55. Villari, ibid., p. 480.
56. Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, at the date.

CHAPTER XVII.

Divers subjects relating to pope Alexander's civil administration.

It is but natural that pope Alexander VI was painfully sensible of the restraint imposed upon him by the king of France, who, in spite of his wishes, lately had restored Pandolpho Petrucci to power in Siena, and was now reserving to his own discretion the disposition of Giangiordano Orsini's territories, whose possession by the Pope was considered indispensable for the peace and security of Rome and of the Roman Pontiff. He might have broken off his long friendly relations with Louis XII, and listened to the invitations and promises of the king of Spain, who was, at the time, successfully waging a bitter war with the French, for the possession of the whole kingdom of Naples. Yet, to show himself the common father of both Catholic nations, and to prudently avoid the possible loss of his own States, he resolved to patiently bear the arrogance of Louis XII, and to remain neutral between the two belligerent monarchs.

It was the Pope's intimate desire to see both contending foreigners driven out of Italy, and the peninsula in the hands of Italian rulers again ; while nearly all the Italian powers and princes were actually helping in the subjugation of their country, with the hope of some private advantage.

On the 8th of April, 1503, pope Alexander VI remarked to Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador : " As I often said to you, it would be well to unite our States, our hearts and minds, for the salvation of Italy, which I regard as my native country. You see those ultramontane princes try together to occupy this land, without consulting either you or us. This

cannot be to our advantage, and it would be well for us to take care of our own interests and to have a good understanding among ourselves, not to offend anyone but to defend our own States ". He requested Giustinian to communicate this proposal to the Venetian Seigniory, and expressed the same wish on the 15th of June [1].

The Pontiff had thus manifested his desire after having read a most favorable and friendly letter, " una perfetta lettera " written by order of the Doge, it seems, to deceive him ; for, on the 29th of May, at last, Giustinian brought him the official information, that the Venetians had refused to consider the requested alliance. They had shamefully betrayed the trustful Pontiff, and made him odious to the French king, by revealing to him the secret papal negotiations initiated with them [2]. There were rumors, as stated by Giustinian himself, that Venice went even further, and allied herself anew with the foreign despot of Northern Italy [3]. When afterwards the French army was running all over, and devastating, Tuscany and the territories of Siena, ready to continue its destructive march through the Roman district and the Neapolitan provinces, in order to relieve besieged Gaeta, thé Pontiff, aware of the unpatriotic and treacherous action of Venice, sadly complained to Giustinian : " You see, my lord ", he said, " all those evils would not take place, if there were a special understanding between your Seigniory and Ourselves ; they would all come to us, and we united, we could peacefully govern everything and soon restore Italy to its ancient independence. We beg you, do not forget to remind

1. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 468-469 ; vol. II, p. 33 ; Balan, Storia, d'Italia, t. V, p. 422.—The Spanish ambassador in Rome and cardinal Carvajal had already recommended, on the 17th and the 25th of March, a special agreement between the Pope, Spain and the republic of Venice : Villari, ubi supra, vol. I, pp. 439, 446.

2. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 24 ; vol. I, p. 447, n. 1.

3. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 95, 104.

of this the Most Illustrious Seigniory "[4]. In fact, the Venetian Republic with the Pontifical States could have held the balance of the Italian politics in those days.

The kings of France and of Spain well knew that the Roman Pontiff, by himself alone, would a most efficient auxiliary to either one of them, whom he might be willing to assist. They both tried to enlist him on their side, and made him offers so liberal and enticing that no prince of ordinary ambition would have been able to resist the temptation. Ferdinand of Spain directed an envoy to Germany, to request emperor Maximilian, then hostile to king Louis XII, to make an effort, as he would do himself, to win over to his cause the Pope and the Venetians. He begged him to grant to the duke of Valentinois the investiture of Tuscany and the title of King, and to take him under his protection, for the greater security of his other estates ; adding that it was better for the emperor to let Cesar have the Florentine republic in the name of the empire, than to let the king of France take possession of it[5]. Çurita further speaks[6] of negotiations between the Pope and the Spanish ambassador, Francis de Rojas, where it is asserted, among other particulars, that the Pontiff wanted the aid of king Ferdinand to obtain for Cesar de Borgia the cities of Pisa, Lucca and Siena ; but his refusal to declare himself for Spain suggests the very opposite, namely, that the King, to secure his good will, offered to assist him in the acquisition of those cities ; and thus we understand Giustinian, saying that the Pontiff was in hopes of receiving Siena through favors of Spain[7].

Giustinian adds that the Pontiff expected at the same time to receive Bracciano and Vicovaro from the king of France.

4. Villari, ubi supra, p. 104.
5. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 68, f° 242; Ranke, Geschichten, p. 168.
6. Lib. V, Cap. 38, f° 294vo.
7. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 46.

In fact, while Maximilian was trying to win the Pope for the Spaniards, Louis XII endeavored to persuade him of the advantages to be derived from an alliance with the French, and offered to give him immediately the cities of Pisa, Lucca and Siena and the States of Giangiordano Orsini [8], Gregorovius further relates [9], on the authority of Beltrando, the Roman envoy of Ferrara, that Louis XII made to the Pope the strange proposal of ceding to him the whole kingdom of Naples in exchange for the province of Romagna together with the city of Bologna.

All these offers of cities and States made to the Sovereign Pontiff by the emperor and two kings, evidently to gain his favors and assistance, are an homage tendered to his power and statemanship ; but they have been maliciously misconstrued by his enemies of past and of present times, into arguments to prove his pretended covetousness and ambition; as if he had not been, indeed, the disinterested hearer of those promises and schemes, but the unjust pretender to all that was, and to more than was, held out to him. Thus Giustinian says, without any appearance of truth, that pope Alexander VI was not in the least concerned, whether the Southern kingdom should fall to the French or to the Spanish; but claimed that either of the kings, with whom he would unite, should be satisfied with his original share and leave the other half to himself [10]. He again tries to cast odium on the Pope, when asserting that he had conceived the strange notion of demanding for Cesar de Borgia the island of Sicily, and was, to that effect, willing to defray the two-thirds of the French cost of war ; while, at the same time, he was negotiating to obtain from the emperor the investiture of Pisa, Piom-

8. Çurita, ubi supra, f° 294v° ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 6.
9. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 490.
10. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 23.

bino and Lucca, and intended to assail the cities of Siena and Bologna [11].

Moreover, Sigismondo dei Conti writes [12] that Alexander had resolved to establish the duke of Valentinois a perpetual dictator of Rome, and the late von Reumont assures us [13] that he intended to make him king of Umbria, the Marches and Romagna. Other enemies of the Pontiff do not neglect to speak of his pretended ambitious designs [14].

These grandiose projects, worthy of a William von Hohenzollern, were to be accomplished, to their greatest possible extent, with the help of either one of the monarchs, who should come out victorious from the stubborn war of the Neapolitan kingdom or, as Giustinian says, after the capture of Gaeta by the Spaniards [15], which took place after the Pontiff's death. The fact is that not one of the ambitious plans ever became a reality, and they all remained alleged designs !

It is true that the people of Pisa sent an embassy to the Pope, to present to him or to Cesar de Borgia the Seigniory of their city, and kept their envoys in Rome, in the hope that their offer would be accepted at last. Yet, they failed in their expectations [16].

After the French troops had undergone, at the beginning of the month of May, the severe defeat of Cerignola and lost the city of Naples, king Louis XII repeatedly requested the assistance of the papal army, and condescended to let the Pope occupy Bracciano and Vicovaro, provided he would give to Giangiordano Orsini some other State as compensation [17]. More than this, on the 9th of July, the French ambassador

11. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 454; vol. II, pp. 34, 36, 46, 65.
12. Le Storie dei suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 267.
13. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 246.
14. Cfr. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 467 and footn.
15. Villari, ubi supra, p. 46.
16. Ammirato, Istorie Fiorent., t. V, p. 469 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, pp. 309, 310.
17. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 20.

gave the Pontiff to understand that his King might simply award Bracciano to him ; yet, the Pope did not give him the desired help [18], and Giangiordano retained his estates.

There is not in all history a record of any the slightest action of pope Alexander VI or of Cesar de Borgia, aiming at the acquisition of either Sicily or of part of the Neapolitan kingdom, the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, notwithstanding.

The kingdom of the provinces of Romagna, the Marches and Umbria destined by von Reumont for the duke of Valentinois is, more than anything else, a creation of hasty, inconsiderate writing.

Sigismondo dei Conti says that Alexander, after depriving the Roman barons of their ancestral possessions, ordered his troops into Tuscany [19], evidently to carry into effect the scheme of the Spanish king. But this assertion is opposed by the well known fact that, at the time, considerable forces of the French king, the protector of Florence, were preparing in Tuscany itself to pass into the Southern kingdom.

Nardi, copying Biagio Buonaccorsi, [20] assures us that the Pope refused to assist Louis XII in the defence of Gaeta, in order that Cesar de Borgia might submit whomsoever he pleased in Middle Italy, and the Florentine republic in particular, as soon as the French army should have departed from Tuscany and passed into the Southern kingdom. But where is the reader not to observe that such a statement is not history, but an unwarrantable suspicion of evil intentions; impraticable, moreover, since the Pontiff had died before the French troops entered the Neapolitan territory ?

The Venetian ambassador, who was watching with a jealous eye every political move of the Pope, had not a word either

18. Villari, ibid., p. 64.
19. Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 267.
20. Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 309.—Diario, p. 80.

of what is asserted by the Folignese, or of what is presumed by the Florentine, historian. He notices, however, an intended journey of Cesar de Borgia into Romagna, in the commencement of the month of June [21], which cannot have been of importance, since we meet Cesar again in Rome at the apostolic palace, signing a diploma, on the 22d of that same month [22]. On the 26th of July, 1503, Giustinian mentions another trip, a " cavalcata ", to be undertaken to Romagna ; and on this occasion His Holiness requests him to inform the Venetian Seigniory that Cesar had no intention of doing harm to anyone, in particular, not to the Florentines nor to the Sienese, who were frightened without any cause, he said ; but he was only to take care of his own States [23]. And, in fact, we did not find any author to state that the duke of Valentinois, at this time, caused any trouble or annoyance to the lords of Florence or to any other prince [24]. There is no ground to believe that pope Alexander VI ever wished his nephew to wear a royal crown, while Machiavelli relates having heard from one of Cesar's intimate officials, that his lord had made up his mind to deliver all papal cities from their factions and tyrants and to restore them to the Pontiff, retaining only Romagna for himself [25].

Having no actions to blame, the Pontiff's enemies have denigrated the close of his political labors, by attributing to him sinister intentions and designs of sordid ambition. And no wonder, for his first historians were the salaried scribes of the treacherous rebels and heartless tyrants, who of late had been duly punished, at his command, by the strong arm of his Captain General. Should the long suffering victims of those dismissed and fallen princes, the common people,

21. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 32.
22. Paris, Archives Nation., J. 734, no. 23.
23. Villari, ibid., pp. 83, 86, 99.
24. Cfr. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 399.
25. Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca, Opere, vol. V, p. 387.

have been able to leave us a record of the great Pope, there would be no need now of gathering from the very writings of his calumniators bits of Material sufficient to vindicate him, and to offer an outline of his true history. Pope Alexander VI was, indeed, loved and venerated by the common people. Never did the fickle Romans revolt against him, but he was enthusiastically received at every one of his frequent visits in the adjoining provinces ; and, after liberating at last the inhabitants of distant Romagna, he won for himself and their duke, Cesar de Borgia, their constant fidelity, through a humane administration and the rendition of impartial justice to all.

Alvisi gives a lengthy description of Cesar de Borgia's firm and beneficent government of Romagna [26], relating, in particular, some interesting details of the institution of a Supreme tribunal for the whole province. Dennistoun writes [27] : " We find the following passage in Sismondi : Cesar de Borgia, distinguished for so many crimes (?), was not destitute of countervailing qualities. Brave, eloquent, dexterous, lavish of favors, but ever careful of finances ; zealous in maintaining justice throughout his States, he knew how, by good government, to promote their rapid prosperity, and to endear himself alike to his subjects and to his soldiery, whilst dreaded and detested by neighboring princes and nations. His early conquests in Romagna, having had time to taste the advantages of his rule, remained faithful to him at the death of Alexander ; while his most recent acquisitions returned to the obedience of their former lords. Though cruel and perfidious in his policy (?), he was enlightened as to what best insured the happiness of the people. His dealings with them were marked by scrupulous impartiality, and the public security was inviolably observed. Under his administration factious

26. Cesare Borgia, pp. 385 to 396.

27. Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, vol. I, p. 374.

violence had been restrained, authorized robberies had ceased, talent had met with enlightened encouragement, men of letters had been enriched by ecclesiastical preferments. In a word, his State had prospered, and no inhabitant could anticipate without fear a restoration of the old dynasties ". Dennistoun continues [28] : " We are told by a contemporary poet, Marcello Filosseno, that Romagna bore witness to the justice and clemency of the godlike Borgia, whom all nations far and near invited to rule over them, and willingly hailed as their master ". The happiness of the people of Romagna under the regiment of Cesar de Borgia is noticed by almost every historian [29]. We reproduce as Document 180, the poem of a contemporary magistrate of Fano in honor of Cesar de Borgia.

Cesar has richly deserved the praises bestowed on him for his administration of Romagna ; but it seems to be little known to what an extent pope Alexander VI has contributed to the peace and happiness of that province. As soon as his Captain General had taken any of its cities, he was ready to renew their ancient privileges and to concede to them new exemptions and favors. He gave a friendly reception to the envoys of conquered Forli, and granted all their petitions [30]; he likewise altered the fundamental laws of the city of Fano, to the perfect satisfaction of its inhabitants [31], and Giustinian relates that he took great pains in choosing a governor of

28. Ibid., p. 375.

29. Cfr. Machiavelli, Il Principe, Cap. VII, pp. 33, 35 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 120 ; Zambelli, Considerazioni sul Libro del Principe di Machiavelli, p. 10 ; Romagnosi, Delle Indole e dei Fattori dell' Incivilmento ; Cantu, Hist. de la Républ. de Venise, t. IV, p. 121 ; Brosch, Gesch. der Kirchenstates, Bd. I, s. 24 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 658; Gregorovius, Lucrezia Borgia, Bd. VII, s. 470, 498.

30. Bonoli, Istorie di Forli, p. 281.

31. Amiani, Memorie Istoriche di Fano, P. 2a, p. 82.

Camerino, asking information from many persons, to find a man with whom the city might be well pleased [32].

The Supreme court, that aided so effectively to bring peace and prosperity to Romagna, was an institution not of Cesar de Borgia, but of the Pontiff himself [33]. Knowing that Cesar was naturally averse to giving audiences, and fearing that his subjects might suffer from this shortcoming, he announced in the consistory of the 29th of July, 1502, the recent establishment of this tribunal, although the College of cardinals had refused their assent, fearing the consequent loss of revenues of the Sacred Rota of Rome, whose name it should bear and whose place it was to take in the territories of Romagna [34].

This Rota was to have Cesena for headquarters, but alternately to hold sessions of two months' duration also in Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, Faenza and Forli or Imola [35]. Its jurisdiction was complex and extensive, including all civil and criminal matters, and, with papal authority, all laics and clerics ; not even cases of ecclesiastical benefices being excepted [36]. The bench consisted of a president, who must be either a bishop or a prothonotary, and of seven or nine doctors of law, priests or seculars, his assessors, called auditors.

Pope Alexander VI named as its first president, one of his chaplains, a doctor of civil and canon law, whom he first promoted to the dignity of a prothonotary apostolic, Anthony de Monte a San Sovino [37], a person whom Machiavelli calls a man of great learning and of exemplary life [38], and of whom all writers of that time speak in terms of the highest praise.

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32. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 290.
33. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 290, n.
34. Id. ibid., p. 76.
35. Amiani, Memorie Histor. di Fano, p. 81.
36. Villari, ibid., pp. 76, 77, 290, n. ; Archiv. della Società Roman. di Storia patria, vol. IV, p. 144, n. 1.
37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. X, t. XCI, Regest. 862, fo 115vo ; Archiv. della Società Roman., ubi supra, p. 77.
38. Legaz. al ,Duca Valent. Opere, vol. V, p. 324, Il Principe, Cap. VII, p. 35.

He died a cardinal. The most remarkable of the auditors was Andrew de Nigusanti, who represented the city of Faenza [39].

The president and each of the assessors drew a fixed yearly salary of two hundred ducats, of which one half was paid by the duke of Romagna, Cesar de Borgia, who, for that purpose, taxed the cities benefited by the sessions of the court. Fano, in particular, had to contribute the annual sum of two hundred ducats. The papal treasury was to supply the other half [40]. On the 4th of February, 1503, the Pontiff gave to the Camera the order to repay one hundred and sixty-three florins advanced by Cesar to the president, Anthony de Monte [41].

We have related [42] some of the journeys, which pope Alexander VI made in the provinces of his States, as well for his own recreation as for the pleasure and benefit of his subjects ; and now we shall briefly report several of his visits, made during the last years of his reign, principally to the places, whose people his armies had liberated from the tyranny of their former princely lords.

In the morning of Tuesday, the 27th of July, 1501, the Pope left Rome, with two cardinals, fifty men on horseback and about a hundred on foot, to go to Sermoneta and the places from which the Colonna had lately been expelled. He took dinner at Castel Gandolfo, and then walked down to the lake and, for the remainder of the day, he there sailed to and fro in a canoe, while the people, full of joy, constantly shouted: Borgia ! Borgia ! and were shooting off their muskets. The following Thursday, he rode in the saddle to Rocca di Papa,

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39. Tonduzzi, Historie di Faenza, p. 564.

40. Amiani, Memorie Storiche di Fano, p. 81 ; Villari, ubi supra.

41. Rome, Archivio di Stato, Decime e Tasse sui Beneficii... Ponticato di Alessandro VI, an. 1501-1503. Carte 205vo : Item debet dare prefata Camera florenos similiter centum sexaginta tres solutos Reverendo patri domino Antonio de Monte commissione et mandato Ducis Valentini, ut pro quitantia et litteris dicti Ducis... fl. 163.

42. This Vol., Ch. II, Art. V.

and returned at night to Castel Gandolfo, under a severe rainstorm. On the next Friday, in spite of more rain, he went to Gennazanno and, the last of the month, in a lasting rain, he journeyed to Sermoneta, the former center of the Gaetani barons, where he remained a few days, and returned by Frascati to Rome, on the 6th of August, together with two more cardinals, who had been sent a few days previous, to accept possession of the Colonna towns and fortresses [43].

On January 25th, 1502, the Pontiff went early in the morning, with three cardinals and a small retinue, to Tusculum in order to find and appropriate the artillery of the Colonna; and the people indicated to him the spot where the cannon had been buried. He then returned to the Vatican [44].

On Thursday, February 10th of the same year, His Holiness, with cardinal de Borgia, the cardinal of Cosenza and Cesar de Borgia, rode to Tivoli. The two latter went there on a hunting tour, while the Pope and cardinal Borgia rode farther to Rocca di Papa. Two days after, late at night, they all arrived back in Rome [45].

Burchard relates [46] that in the morning of Thursday, the 17th of February, 1502, pope Alexander VI left Rome, on his way to Cervetri, Corneto and Piombino, to inspect the plans and locations of the fortifications, which Cesar had designed to build for the defence of this last city [47], newly acquired to the immediate dominion of the Church. Six triremes had been equipped for the voyage in Corneto. The Pope with six cardinals and the duke Cesar departed on horseback, and his suite was of about a hundred and fifty men. The following night he slept in the town of Palo, and the next day, after dinner, he rode, together with the cardinals, Cesar de Borgia

43. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 153, 155, 156.
44. Id. ibid., p. 190.
45. Id. ibid., p. 191.
46. Diar., t. III, pp. 192-197.
47. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 258 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi Diario de Successi piu importanti sequiti in Italia, f° 53.

and all his escort, to Cervetri, where all passed the night ; the Pope in the castle and the others in various lodgings. On Saturday the Pope rode to Corneto and remained there over Sunday, the second in Lent. An altar had been prepared in the large hall of the patriarch's palace, where he had passed the night. A solemn Mass was sung by the papal master of ceremonies and six chanters of the Vatican chapel. The Pontiff assisted in his paraphernalia and all the inhabitants were invited to be present. The celebrant, Bernardino, and many of pope Alexander's suite left Corneto on horseback directly for Piombino, and, after vespertime, the Pope himself, with five cardinals and almost a hundred men, went on board one of the galleys and sailed to Piombino, where he landed about noon on Monday, the 21st of February.

His Holiness, the six cardinals and the duke of Valentinois entered a galley again on the 25th, and sailed over to the isles of Elba, where he stayed one day, returning to Piombino on Saturday towards night. The altar of the church of the Augustinians had been elaborately prepared for Sunday, the 27th, and the cardinal of Cosenza celebrated pontifical Mass, at which the Pope assisted in miter and cope, the other cardinals being also present.

The following Monday, the last of February, the Pontiff ordered about a hundred of his men to return in the saddle to Corneto, which they entered on the 4th of March. He himself and the six cardinals, with their retinue, entered one galley on the 1st of March, and Cesar de Borgia, with his men, boarded another. They intended to make a pleasure voyage, but contrary winds arose and made the sea insecure. They would not, however, return to Piombino and remained in the galleys till the 4th of March, when, before daybreak, they set sail towards Porte Ercole, in whose bay they saw a beautiful English ship, that the Pope would not board ; but he remained there for the night. The next day, although the

sea and the weather were rough, both galleys sailed on towards Corneto. The duke, suspicious of more serious danger, landed from a bark and went to Corneto on horseback, but the Pope could not reach a landing place with his galley. The seafarers became frightened, as the waves were swelling, and they prostrated themselves on the floor of the ship, all but the Pope, who sat firmly in his chair at the stern, bravely taking in the frightful sight ; and, when a strong wave would strike the vessel, he pronounced the name of Jesus ! and blessed himself with the sign of the cross. When at last the waters calmed down a little, some fish was fried, and eaten by His Holiness. That same Saturday evening, the Pope, with all his companions landed from the galley at Porto Ercole. From there he sent to Corneto for conveyances, that arrived the next day. On Sunday, pope Alexander VI and the cardinals heard H. Mass, said by the rector of Porto Ercole. At night on Monday, the Pope, the cardinals and all their suite reached Corneto, where they tarried till the following Wednesday. Then they went to Civitavecchia and passed the night there. On Thursday they reached Palo, where they also slept. Finally, in the late afternoon of the 11th of March, 1502, they entered the Vatican palace, by a door of the garden, outside of the Viridaria gate.

The Pontiff was not, this time, solemnly received in Rome. Beltrando Costabili wrote to Ferrara, the same day, that His Holiness had refused to be met by anyone, because of the lateness of the hour, and had entered by his garden ; but, he added, that soon were heard, about the palace, the sounds of fifes and trumpets [48].

Such was the excursion of pope Alexander VI to Piombino, as reported to Burchard. The diarist strangely finishes by stating, as he had heard it said, that in Piombino the Pope

48. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 466, n.

had beautiful women and small girls to dance for hours on the street in front of his hotel. This may be no interpolation of the Diary of Burchard ; but Gordon [49] and Gregorovius [50] had no reason to enlarge upon the hearsay ; for dances of that time were rather artistic and not lascivious as they are often to-day ; and, taking the place of our noisy modern bands, they were a regular feature of the solemn receptions accorded to men of high standing or consideration. In this way was honored pope Pius II, although most rigid in moral matters, since he became a Supreme Pontiff. In view of this general custom, the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, concluded that dances of little girls would take place in honor of the Pope, on the occasion of his visit to Camerino [51].

The same Giustinian, wrote on the 26th of August, 1502 [52]: The celebration of the anniversary of his Coronation being over, the Pope says that he intends to take a recreation, and to visit the territories of the Colonna. He will take with him the two little boys, that is, the one of Madonna Lucretia and the other designated as the son of the duke of Valentinois ; with the intention of acquiring for them the good will and consideration of the people ; for he has given those States to them—Of this project we have found no further information, nor has Burchard's Diary a word on the matter.

Giustinian wrote to Venice on the 18th of September, 1502 : The Pope has gone to Camerino, to give possession of that city to the infant, Don Giovanni, whom he also made duke of Nepi and count of Gallese. It is not known exactly when he will come back since he protracts his absence longer than he had announced. We may imagine, " se iudica " the good times that he enjoys, etc. [53]. The following day, September

49. Alexandre VI, t. II, p. 168.
50. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 466.
51. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 118.
52. Ibid., p. 100.
53. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 117, 118.

19th, he wrote again : This morning the Pontiff, on his return from Camerino, left Civiltà Castellana, and is expected for breakfast in Rignano ; and it is said that tomorrow he will come to Rome.

According to ambassador Beltrando, writing to the duke of Ferrara on the 10th of January, 1502, pope Alexander VI had built the fortress of Cività Castellana as a refuge for himself and the Sacred College, should any calamity force them to escape from Rome, and as a place of defence for Cesar de Borgia against the Roman barons, in case of his own death. On the 17th and 18th of the following September, on his return from Camerino, he came to inspect the new structure, and the next day returned to Rome [54]. In fact, the Pope reentered the City in the evening of the same 19th [55].

On April 17th, 1503, the Pontiff announced that the next day, after Mass, he would take a pleasure ride to Porto [56], and Giustinian [57] reports that on the night of the 21st, he returned from that city, where he had gone, not for recreation only, but also for business, and where he intended to build a palace.

The 24th of the same month, after holding a consistory, he went, accompanied by Cesar de Borgia, to inspect the fortress of Ceri, the recovery of which had lately cost him much anxiety and money [58].

Early in the morning of the 13th of May, 1503, pope Alexander VI started on his last recorded visit in the provinces of the Pontifical States. He went with the duke of Valentinois to the territories that had formerly belonged to the Colonna barons; in particular, to Nettuno and neighboring places, and was to be absent until the month of March [59].

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54. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 475, and n.
55. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 119, 120.
56. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. 481.
57. Ibid., p. 486.
58. Villari, ibid., pp. 487, 488.
59. Ibid., vol. II, p. 13 ; Cfr. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 488.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Alexander VI promotes learning.

ARTICLE I. — HE REBUILDS THE ROMAN SAPIENZA.

When we see pope Alexander VI liberally spending money of his own treasury, to promote the welfare of Romagna, a remote province of the Pontifical States, we may readily presume that he has gone to the limit of his means, to care for the improvement of his capital City and of its neighborhood. He has, indeed, surpassed what could be expected from him, in procuring greater security and beauty for Rome and adjoining cities ; and, especially, by the rebuilding of the famous " Sapienza " and the erection of other Universities, in procuring the desired facilities to the people of Rome and to all Christians for their moral and mental advancement.

We have noticed how Cardinal de Borgia graduated with unusual honors at the University of Bologna, and we saw him, a learned writer, entertain the well informed members of his court [1]. It is no wonder that, on his assumption to the pontificate, literature and liberal arts were expected to flourish and to be honored [2].

When a Pope, Alexander VI was not insensible to mental enjoyment ; he even kept a court singer and a court poet. The blind Aurelio Brandolini of Florence delighted him, at solemn repasts, by singing his improvised latin verses to the accompaniment of his lute ; and when he died, in the year 1497, Serafino of Aquila, the Petrarch of his time, coveted

1. Ibid., pp. 444, 448.
2. Jason Mayno, Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Sessor. Cod. 314, f° 148 ; Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I, 13.

the honorable position [3]. The Pontiff was not averse to lighter literature, as we may judge from the great number of poems composed to honor him ; there even was a lenghty piece of poetry, probably written in hexameters, a " Borgiade ", dedicated to him [4] by Guido Posthumus ; but he paid little attention to vain words and phrases, inclined, as he was, to more serious sciences and occupied with important affairs of Church and State.

Chrystophe remarks that the Pope, already well informed as a cardinal, endeavored, at the beginning of his reign, to find the most distinguished personages of all liberal professions, and elevated them to ecclesiastical and civil dignities. As a consequence, Rome became the gathering place of the most remarkable men of Christendom, who filled the Roman Academy, the court and the University [5].

Among them we may reckon the eminent Cypriote, Ludovicus Podocatharus, who became a papal secretary ; the Nuremberg antiquarian, Lawrence Behaim, who was for twenty years the superintendent of the Pontiff's household [6]; the Latinist, Jerome Porcius, who was made Auditor of the Sacred Rota and bishop of Andria [7] ; Felinus Sandei, author of several works of law, who became a pontifical secretary and afterwards an apostolic referendary and bishop of Lucca [8] ; Paul Cortesius, an able defender of Christian doctrine, in pagan style, who was named a papal secretary and a prothonotary apostolic [9] ; Peter Accolti, a professor of the University of Pisa, afterwards the cardinal of St. Eusebius,

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3. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 613 and Lucr. Borgia, Bd. s. 126.
4. Paul Jovius, Elogia Doctorum Virorum, p. 131.
5. Chrystophe, Hist. de la Papauté, t. II, p. 383, Ref. to Tomaso Tomasi ; Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 32.
6. Gregorov., Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 32 and Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 570.
7. Id. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 127.
8. Atti e Memor... Moden. e Parm., vol. IV, p. 399.
9. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 105.

who was called to Rome by the Pontiff [10]; Michael Fernus, a correct and copious Latin writer, and the Venetian Hermolaus Barbarus, who dedicated to Alexander VI his " Castigationes Plinianas " [11].

Such also were the following court physicians of pope Alexander VI : John Baptist Canani [12] ; Bernard Buongiovanni, who was made bishop of Venosa in the year 1501 ; Andrew Vives, whom the Pope had highly esteemed when yet a cardinal, and who was named a count palatin by pope Leo X [13]; Peter Pintor, whose medical works prove him to have been one of the most learned men of his time [14] ; Gaspar Torella, appointed to the diocese of Santa Justa in Sardinia, in the year 1494 [15], and Julian Arnolfi [16].

These and other men of letters had formed a club of Literati, " Sodalitatem Literatorum ". The Sodality, placed under the protection of SS. Victor and Fortunatus, celebrated every year the Birthday of Rome, by assisting at the divine offices, making speeches in honor of religion and of the City, and by conducting literary exercises, in which they cleverly engaged to fit themselves for greater undertakings. We found that in the year 1500, the Pope contributed, of his own accord, one hundred florins towards defraying the expenses of that year's festivities ; in order that they may, it is said, apply themselves to literature more ardently, and more easily follow the liberal arts [17].

The following year he renewed his usual gift of one hundred florins for the encouragement of learning [18].

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10. Dionys. Samarthanus, Gallia Christiana, t. I, p. 1064.
11. Ciaconius, Vitae Pontificum, t. III, col. 145.
12. Marini, Degli Archiatri Pontificii, vol. I, p. XXX.
13. Ibid., p. 243.
14. Ibid., p. 253.
15. Ibid., p. 257.
16. Ibid., p. XXX.
17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Divers. Camere 1497-1501. Lib. IIII, Armar. 29. No. 53, f° 91.
18. Ibid., 1501-1503, Lib. V, Armar. 29. No. 54, f° 6.

A contemporary historian calls pope Alexander VI another Mecenas of literary men [19]; and, indeed, we might relate many instances of his beneficence towards men aspiring to knowledge. Thus a young scholar of Amelia, John Anthony Zarabbini (Flaminius) wrote to him, that his uncle, a physician of Rome, had persuaded him to write, by saying that the Pontiff would be well pleased to receive his letter, because he appreciates talent and shows great kindness to men of letters. Flaminius ventures, therefore, the request of having, for the composition of a Roman history, extracts to be made from certain ancient authors preserved in the Vatican library. A few days after, he wrote to him again : " Most Holy Father: The envoy of Cotignola, one of my relatives, has, at his return, caused my the greatest joy, for he told me that you have kindly read my letter and been so well pleased with my petition, that you have at once called your librarian and ordered him to allow my relative to inspect any of the books as often as he desired. He told me that, for four days, he had made such copies as I wanted. As proofs of your kindness and liberality, he has taken along many pages of notes, that I had long since ardently wished to have... " [20].

On the 20th of October, 1500, the Pope allowed John de Alcala, of the Order of St. Augustin, to go, with the consent of his superiors, and study at some University, and to collect alms for that purpose [21].

On the 14th of August, 1501, he gave special orders that the poor student, Anthony Munez, should be examined gratis, and advanced to the degree of Bachelor of Medicine, and should enjoy all the privileges of others solemnly promoted [22].

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19. Add. to Platina, ap. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 518.
20. Flaminius, Epistol. Familiar. Lib. I, Epist. I and II ad Alex. VI.
21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Minutae Brev. Sixti IV, Innocentii VIII, Alexandri VI, Julii II, Cod. I, f° 171.
22. Ibid.

On August the 24th of the same year, a similar favor was bestowed on John Sinaij de Castro [23].

Pope Alexander VI assisted in the recognition of talent and learning, even when found among the lower classes of society; while he contributed, at the same time, to keeping up the high standard of studies. Already on the 27th of July, 1493, he confirmed and renewed a bull of pope Innocent VIII, to safeguard the rights and privileges of duly graduated Masters and Doctors, against the competition of common men, who had obtained academic degrees from dignitaries who had no faculties to confer them. Yet, he willed that poor students could secure by apostolic letters a right to be examined free of charge by regular University examiners, within a time set by the papal commissaries assigned to them for that purpose. Only in case that the examiners should neglect to do their duty, could the candidates be tested by their commissaries and, if found competent, promoted to University honors equivalent to those of regular graduates [24].

The great and glorious work of pope Alexander VI for the encouragement and honor of Christian literature and science was the erection and equipment of the magnificent edifice of the Roman University known as the " Sapienza ".

There flourished in Rome, at the time, the Academy of Pomponius Laetus and in Naples, the one of Giovanni Pontano (Jovinianus), which were schools of paganism ; and, all over Italy there was, not a false, but a real Renaissance, a revival, of ancient Roman and Greek literary works, with all their anti-Christian ideas and their unspeakable turpitudes. Not only the so-called classics, but a score of neo-pagan filthy " poèts " weakened the faith and defiled the morals of the princes and of the richer classes of society. In vain did

23. Ibid., f° 173.
24. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 142.

Catholic orators and a few able writers try to stem the tide of impiety and corruption. The very nature of the evil required, as remedy, the cultivation and extension of belles-lettres in a pure and Christian spirit.

Aware of this need, pope Alexander VI was anxious to improve Catholic Universities in various countries and to increase their number.

We learn from a decree of the Roman Senate under pope Paul II that the University of Rome was founded under the laws of the Empire, and confirmed and favored by a bull of pope Boniface VIII dated the 6th of June, 1303. Completely destroyed in consequence of wars and schisms, it was re-established through a letter of the 12th of October, 1431, by pope Eugene IV, who had bought for the purpose a group of private houses in the central quarter, " Regione ", of St. Eustachius, where henceforth the lectures were given. The existence of the Roman General Studies was threatened again, when, the Magistrates of the City decreed to keep it up with the means assigned to it by Eugene IV, namely, the taxes levied on wine sold in the City [25].

Pope Alexander VI took, from the beginning of his reign, the liveliest interest in the progress of the University, and recommended it to the care of the Governor of Rome and of his associates. On the 17th of August, 1495, he named to its vacant post of Rector, the bishop of Nola, Nicholas Ursini, an influential prelate of great prudence and learning [26].

The houses, however, bought by Eugene IV stood together without any symmetry and were insufficient for any large number of students. The Pontiff had long since wished to remedy the deficiency of building accommodations and of their exterior appearance; but the condition of his finances

25. Statuta et Novae Reformationes Urbis Romae, De Studiis Generalibus, Liber. III, Cap. I ; H. Denifle, Die Universitäten des Mittelalters,, Bd. I, s. 310.

26. Renazzi, Storia dell' Università di Roma, p. 205.

long withheld him from realising his noble desires. Yet, at last, he resolved to beautify Rome with an edifice worthy of the importance and dignity of its object. He first tore down the agglomeration of unsuitable buildings and enlarged the grounds. He then secured the services of the Florentine architects, Master Andrew and Master Sanctus [27], whom Christophe [28] designates as Antonio di San Gallo and Andrew dal Monte San Severo. He also appointed a building committee, to consist of Peter Isvaglies, archbishop of Reggio and Governor of Rome ; Nicholas Ursini, Rector of the University, and of his secretary, Ludovicus Podocatharus, bishop of Cappaccio [29].

On the 17th of December, 1497, pope Alexander VI gave his first mandate to pay for the erection of the new edifice, the sum of one thousand ducats, to the Rector and Regents of the University [30].

The following year, on the 16th of November, he ordered again one thousand ducats to be paid, upon a direction of the building committee, to the architects and builders, Sanctus and Andrew of Florence [31].

Other sums of money were paid, in various amounts, as the construction was progressing. Thus were handed to the builders, Andrew and Sanctus, three hundred ducats, on account, between the 16th and the 19th of March, 1499 [32].

On the 3d of June, the amount of five hundred ducats was paid to the same architects and builders [33].

A check was drawn up, on the 21st of September, 1499, in favor of the same, for the sum of three hundred ducats [34].

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27. See Document 181a.
28. Hist. de la Papauté au XVme siècle, t. II, p. 578.
29. See Document 181b.
30. See Document 181a.
31. See Document 181b.
32. Archiv. Hist. Ital., ser. 3, vol. VI. P. I, p. 177 ; Ref. to Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Diversa Cam. Armar. 29, no. 52, fo 178vo.
33. Id. ibid., Refer. to ibid., f° 214.
34. Id. Ibid., Ref. to Div. Camer. Armar. 29, no. 53, f° 3.

Certain amounts of money were paid between the 19th of March, 1499, and the 4th of January, 1500 [35].

And again on the 3d of November, 1502, another four hundred ducats [36].

All these and other payments for the same purpose, were made through the office of the papal treasury, by the Roman citizen, Gabriel de Fusariis, who was the depositary of the taxes imposed on wine, sold on the market places or by retail in the city of Rome ; and which, from their destiny, were called the University tax. Paul Cortesius, a secretary of pope Alexander VI testifies that the Pontiff applied, moreover, to the erection of the building, all the moneys collected by the papal treasury from the special tribute levied on the Hebrews [37].

Pope Pius III put on the finishing touches [38].

When completed, the Archigymnasium of Rome was an imposing, beautiful structure, worthy of the Christian civilization fostered in it, and of the great protector of literature and science, who erected it. Andrew Fulvius, a contemporary writer, has left us the following description [39] : Alexander VI, after increasing the grounds of the former schools, erected upon them new buildings provided with porticoes, galleries, courts, halls and a central apartment : all designed after ancient academies.

The University of Rome, called the " Sapienza ", was an institution complete in its kind, provided with chairs, ordinary and extraordinary, of literature and of the liberal arts, where lectures were delivered on all branches of advanced education.

The Pope not only tried to attract to Rome the most learned men of his time, but, among these, he chose or allowed the

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35. See Document 181c.
36. See Document 181d.
37. Renazzi, Storia dell' Università di Roma, p. 197.
38. Ibid., p. 199.
39. Id. Idid., Ref. to Fulvius' Antiquitates Urbis, printed A. D. 1509 in Rome.

most proficient to teach at his University. Raphael Maffei or Volaterranus tells us [40] that it was never heard that the Pontiff had delayed, much less retained, the salary of teachers, the stipends of soldiers or the wages of workmen. He, on the contrary, carefully provided the means to pay to the University professors honoria that were proper and becoming [41]. It was upon them that the tax on wine was mostly expended ; and this source of revenue, which brought thirteen thousand and fifty florins in the year 1494 [42], had increased in 1502, to fourteen thousand florins [43]. Moreover, he encouraged his teachers by occasionally promoting to lucrative and honorable positions the most distinguished among them. No wonder, therefore, if the chairs of the " Sapienza " were filled with men of superior qualities.

Of these we may mention one of the University regents, the highly educated [44] orientalist, Ludovicus Podocatharus, made bishop of Capaccio ;

Peter Sabinus, professor of eloquence, who gathered a precious collection of Christian inscriptions [45].

The famous Marcus Vigerio, Thomas de Vio, Ludovico Vivaldi were teaching theology [46].

Professors of other branches of sacred learning were Augustin Patrizi and Boniface Simonetti [47].

Other men, well known for their writings : Dominic de Bonis Auguriis, Francis Pellati, Coronatus de Planca, Alfonso de Soto, Angelo Cesi, John Gozzadini, Martin Gronning lectured on Canon and Civil Law [48].

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40. Anthropologia or Commentaria, Lib. XXII.
41. Renazzi, ubi supra, p. 197.
42. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div., t. V, Regest. 883, fo 164vo.
43. See Document 182.
44. Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 32.
45. Gregorov. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 570.
46. Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 284 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser 11, vol. III, p. 489.
47. Leonetti, ibid.
48. Leonetti, ibid., p. 258.

John Arguropulos of Constantinople explained Aristotelian philosophy [49];

Philip della Valle was professor of medicine. The Pontiff conferred upon him the title of his court physician ; a distinction which assured him a very wide practice [50]. With his knowledge of predilection he joined the study of antiquities [51].

Angel Leonini was another professor of medicine, whom the Pope rewarded with the diocese of Tivoli, his native city [52]. Gabriel Zerbi was also a famous lecturer on medicine, and Dominic Maria Novara taught astronomy at first in the University of Rome and afterwards had Copernicus as pupil in Bologna [53].

The fame of the Universities of Bologna and of Rome attracted also the famous Nicholas Copernicus, a canon of Ermeland. When about twenty-seven years of age, he came to Rome, to gain the indulgence of the Jubilee year, 1500. Here he was readily admitted to an extraordinary chair of the University, where he lectured on mathematics and astronomy [54] ; not only for one year, but, " Alcuni anni ", for a number of years, before a full class room, frequented by the most learned men of the city and court of Rome [55].

Pope Alexander VI was aware also of the need of good books for the spread of knowledge. We have noticed already that he was a lover of books when still a cardinal, and there are striking facts to prove that he did not cease to appreciate their value, after his assumption to the supreme pontificate.

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49. Leonetti, ubi supra, p. 284; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 129.

50. Renazzi, Storie dell' Università di Roma.

51. His mortuary inscription is: " Philippo de Valle. Patricio Ro; Philosophia Bonarumque Litterarum Gloria Inclyto " : Marini, Deglio Archiartri Pontificii, vol. I, pp. 237, 242.

52. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Div. Camer., Armar. 29, no. 52, f° 207.

53. Leonetti, ubi supra, p. 285.

54. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XIII, p. 135.

55. Renazzi, ubi supra, p. 227, Refer. to Gioachin Rheticus, Copernicus' steady companion, Narrat. de Copernico.

" On the 26th of June, 1495, his treasurer paid to the goldsmith Angelino seventeen florins and thirty-six bolognese, " for the value of four silver locks for certain books of Our Holy Lord the Pope " [56]. He accepted books as security for sums of money due him from Frederic, king of Naples, in the year 1499 [57]. To render books more accessible, he reduced, on the 8th of November, 1499, the tariff on all books imported into the Pontifical States [58]. He thus materially facilitated their acquisition by both the students and the professors of the University ; nor would it be too much to presume that the latter, at least, enjoyed the privilege, accorded to some foreigners, of inspecting the great collection of books and manuscripts of the Vatican library.

ARTICLE II. — THE POPE ESTABLISHES OR FAVORS SEVERAL OTHER UNIVERSITIES.

It has been impossible to neglect the name of Alexander VI in connection with the University of Rome ; but historians pay little attention to his numerous and important acts in regard to many other seats of higher learning in Europe. H. de l'Epinois incorrectly states [59] that the Pontiff requested the archbishop of Toledo and the bishop of Salamanca to reform the Universities of those cities. The fact is that, by a bull of the 1st of August, 1497, he imposed on those high dignitaries the duty of making a canonical visit to the Universities of Salamanca and of Valladolid, in the diocese of Palencia, besides several other places of general or particular studies, in the kingdom of Spain ; and, with apostolic authority, to reform them in their heads and members and all their

56. See Document 183.

57. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXVI. 10, f° 46v° ; Paris, Bibl Nation., Fonds Lat., Cod. 12555, f° 10v°.

58. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Camer. 1497-1501, Lib. IIII. Armar. 29, no. 53, f° 22.

59. Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. 29, p. 418.

dependencies, with regard to the morality of their personnel, and even to correct their laws and regulations and the appointment of professors ; in order, he stated, that those institutions may be better respected and crowned with greater success [60].

The University of Aberdeen owes its beginning to pope Alexander VI. By the bull of its erection, in the year 1495, the Pontiff states the great ignorance prevailing in the kingdom of Scotland, which makes it difficult to find clergymen able to preach and to administer the sacraments [61]. This sad condition is due to the difficulty of access to any seat of learning. He, therefore, establishes in the healthy city of Aberdeen a school of General Studies, where Theology, Canon and Civil Law, Medicine and Literature shall be taught. He wills that all academic honors shall be conferred on successful students : the degrees of bachelor and of licentiate, by the bishop of the diocese, and the one of Master or Doctor, by the faculty of professors, after a regular examination. The graduates shall enjoy all customary privileges and be qualified to teach in any University without being examined again [62].

Hardly does a legist make an appearance in the city of Vienna before the year 1494, and the science of Civil Law had for a long time no steady representation at the University of that capital [63]. Pope Alexander VI secured in 1495, to this ancient seat of learning its first authorized chair of this important branch of studies, by allowing professors to deliver lectures on Roman Civil Law, and students, whether clerics

60. See Document 107.

61. In 1503 pope Alexander VI empowered the chancellor of the university of Cambridge to send out yearly twelve priests, either Doctors of Divinity or Masters of Arts, to preach all over England, Ireland and Scotland—L. C. Casartelli, bishop of Salford, Sketches in History, p. 162.

62. Walker, Aberdeen University Handbook, Initio. The Dublin Rev., vol. CXIV, p. 280, refers also to the Vatican Archives.

63. Denifle, Die Universitäten des Mittelalters, Bd. I, s. 625.

or laics, to listen to them; and, consequently, to receive corresponding academic degrees [64].

On the 6th of May, 1500, he rendered another service to the Vienna University, when, at the request of its rector and deans, he confirmed all its liberties and immunities granted by former Popes, and all its exemptions from temporal exactions ever conceded by kings and princes [65].

As in Vienna, so also did the Pontiff institute the faculty of Civil Law at the University of Erfurt [66].

The famous University of Complutum or of Alcalà de Henares owes to pope Alexander VI both its foundation and its endowment. Alphonsus Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, had instituted at Alcalà a few chairs for the teaching of grammar and of a few preparatory sciences ; but his successor, Ximenez de Cisneros, wished to develop this humble beginning into a regular University, like the one of Salamanca For this purpose, he kept an agent at the Roman court, Francis Ferrera, the abbot of Complutum, who procured for him all the necessary papal documents [67].

On the 13th of April, 1499, the Pontiff issued the Brief of establishment of a College in Alcalà, where Theology, Canon Law and all the Liberal Arts should be taught ; and he granted to it all the privileges of the Universities of Salamanca, Valladolid and of Bologna. On the same day he gave, by special letters, the right of conferring academic degrees on students who should have finished the regular course of studies in the college, together with all the same privileges attached to the degrees imparted at any other University. The baccalaureate was to be given by one of the professors, the licentiate and the doctorate by the abbot of the Com-

64. Janssen, Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes, 9te Aufl. Bd. I, s 480.

65. Vienna, Univers. Archiv. L, XLI, 10.

66. Denifle, ubi supra, s. 780. Regest. 1002, f° 336.

67. Wadding. Annal. Min.. t. XV, p. 250.

plutum monastery ; and, in his absence, by the treasurer of the collegiate church of SS. Justus and Pastor. Meanwhile the College of St. Ildefonse was built, and, on the 14th of November, 1500, the Pontiff conceded to Ximenez the right of aggregating to it the chairs already donated by archbishop Carillo. On the 13th of May, 1501, he further granted, in particular, to the professors, licentiates and Doctors of Alcalà the right of applying for the positions of theological canons in the cathedrals of the provinces of Castilla and Leon [68]. Finally, on the 21st of November, 1501, pope Alexander VI, after praising highly all literary studies, gave authority to Ximenez to unite forever with the chairs and chaplaincies of the new University, up to an aggregate annual amount of five hundred gold ducats, all the simple benefices of the city and diocese of Toledo, as soon as they should become vacant [69].

The University of Valencia, in Spain, was another creation of pope Alexander VI. There had for nearly a hundred years existed in Valencia a college, sometimes called a University, in which Grammar, Mathematics, a few other sciences and Theology were taught, and where the Pontiff himself, as a young man, had finished his preparatory studies. The assemblymen of Valencia resolved, on the 14th of August, 1498, to restore and enlarge the college buildings, for the installation of a University, and to apply to the Holy Father for the authority of conferring the degrees of Bachelor, Licentiate and Doctor, as was done in Rome, Bologna, Salamanca and Lerida. To this effect they sent to Rome, on the 5th of May, 1500, Micer John Vera, canon and precentor of the Metropolitan church. But already on the 23d of January, the bull of erection of the University had been issued authorizing chairs of Theology and Canon Law, of Medicine and Liberal

68. Denifle, Die Universitäten des Mittelalters, Bd. I, s. 646.

69. See Document 184.

Arts, and of Latin and Greek literature. Another bull of the same date had been expedited, by which the usual privileges were granted, and the archdean, the dean and the chanters of the metropolitan chapter, were named as regents, " jueces y conservadores ", of the new institution. Ferdinand, the king of Spain, gave his approval on the 16th of February, 1502 [70].

Towards the end of his reign, the Pontiff favored Germany again by granting the establishment of the University of Frankfort, which was afterwards enlarged by popes Julius II and Leo X [71]; and, in the year 1502, he founded the University of Wittemberg, in the same country [72].

The University of Avignon in France also became indebted to pope Alexander VI, for the interest he took in the welfare of its professors, when he confirmed the bull of Sixtus IV, who had authorized an increase of their salaries [73].

Finally, de l'Epinois states[74] that the same Pontiff assisted the king of Portugal in founding the University of Lisbon, by attributing to it a portion of the ecclesiastical revenues of that kingdom.

He also issued a document regulating the manner of conferring the academic degrees at the University of Pisa.

Not only did pope Alexander VI contribute more than any other Pope to the number and usefulness of Universities, but he also promoted humbler institutions of education. Just as he had, when yet a cardinal, founded a school of sacred music at the collegiate church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, so, when he had become a Pope, at the request of king Charles VIII, on the 13th of November, 1496, he founded

70. Vincente Ximeno, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 68; Villanueva, Viage literario, t. II, p. 118 ; Denifle, ubi supra, s. 645.

71. Dublin Rev., vol. XXXI, p. 569.

72. Ibid., p. 570.

73. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Leon. X, Bull., an. I, Lib. XII, Regest. 1002, f° 336.

74. Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. 29, p. 418.

a similar school, in connection with the collegiate chapel of the royal palace in Paris. Among the rules and conditions of the bull of its establishment, it was expressed that a " Magister " must instruct the choristers, six young men, not only in music, but also in the branches of a grammar course; as it is becoming for ecclesiastical men to know, " in grammaticalibus competenter, ut congruit seu convenit viris ecclesiasticis " [75].

All these facts afford sufficient proof to show that, if ever a Supreme Pontiff favored the progress of Literature and Science, it was the very one whom we see so often blamed for his pretended neglect of learning and of learned men, because he did not satisfy the ambition and avarice of the " poets " of his day, of those literati who were the promoters of disbelief and of pagan immorality.

MATERIAL IMPROVEMENTS MADE BY POPE ALEXANDER VI.

It is generally admitted that pope Alexander VI has done his large share towards the modern progress of fine arts. He was no artist himself but knew how to admire artistic achievements [76] ; he was gifted with a keen perception of real talent, that made him confide all his most important works of architecture and decoration to the greatest geniuses that lived at his time. Antonio di Sangallo directed the painting of the famous ceiling of Santa Maria Maggiore and the renewal of the fortress of Sant' Angelo ; Pietro Perugino and Bernardino Pinturicchio painted at the apostolic palace the " Stanza dell' incendio " and the Borgia rooms ; and the great Donato Bramante was put to work at once, upon his arrival in Rome. The Pontiff also employed the talented

75. Paris, Archiv. Nation., L. 327 : Bullaire d'Alexandre VI, no. 4.

76. Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 151.

goldsmith Bernardino Uniani of Foligno, from whom he ordered the gilded silver statues that were to ornament his private chapel. On the 21st of December, 1497, he paid him a hundred ducats for one such a statue of an apostle [77]. So also he encouraged Roland Tristano, the diamond cutter, " gemmarum scultor ", of Mantua, who, at the time of his death in the year 1502, was a member of the Pontiff's suite, in an excursion that His Holiness was making [78].

Vermiglioli remarks [79] that pope Alexander VI not only employed artists more extensively than his predecessors, but also was more generous in rewarding them. In 1495 he leased for a term of twenty-nine years to Pinturicchio two tracts of land near Perugia for the low annual payment of thirty bushels of grain. The artist objected to his rental as burdensome, and the Pope changed it, on the 28th of July, 1497, into two pounds of white wax, payable on the feast of the Assumption. On the 16th of the following May he declared that Pinturicchio had earned more by his hard labor than he had been paid for it, and that neither he nor his heirs should forfeit their lease, even should they neglect to remit the nominal tribute [80].

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77. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam., 1497-1499, Lib. III, Armar. 29, no. 52, fo 37vo.

78. Forcella, Iscrizioni, vol. V, p. 296, no. 823.

79. Di Bernardino Pinturicchio, Memorie, p. 43.

80. Ibid., pp. VII, X, XVII.

CHAPTER XIX.

Alexander VI beautifies Rome.

ARTICLE I. — HE RESTORES SEVERAL CHURCHES.

Much as he did for the mental progress of Christianity, pope Alexander VI did no less for the temporal improvement of religion and society in the Pontifical States and principally in the city of Rome. Porcius tells us [1] that, when yet a cardinal, he erected various edifices necessary for religious and profane uses. But the successor of Innocent VIII had other things to do than to adorn Rome with buildings, although he was not disinclined to do so, as Gregorovius sneeringly says [2]. He was not unwilling indeed ; for, at his very first consistory, he spoke at length of restoring and beautifying the city and its churches [3]. Already on the 28th of March, 1493, the bishop of Perugia, John Lopez, wrote to Enrique Enriquez in Spain a letter in which he states, to the honor of the Pontiff : " He is doing a very remarkable work in St. Mary Major, he is erecting the Portico of the Benediction, and building in Campo Formino and in many other places ; he spends the greater part of the means that he has, for righteous and good objects " [4].

The dilapidated condition of several Roman churches naturally enlisted the Pontiff's particular care. Pope Innocent VIII had just commenced the Portico of St. Peter's basilica, destined for the coronation of Popes and Emperors

1. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 608.
2. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 650.
3. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I, 13 ; Porcii Comment.
4. Fidel Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 126.

and for the solemn benediction of the people ; whence its name. There is on the ceiling of the chapel of Our Lady of the Portico, in the Vatican grotto, a sketch of his beautiful addition to St. Peter's church, with the inscription : " Porticus ad Benedictiones—ab Alexandro VI " [5]. It was a building of three stories attached to the front of the basilica, consisting of three superimposed sets of four columns each, the capitals of which were joined together by means of arcades, the second row of which supported the floor ; and the third, the roof of the large hall, where the papal functions took place. It is pope Alexander VI who built this not inconsiderable work and finished it in the year 1497 [6].

Moreover, on the 24th of July, 1499, we find in this Pontiff's account books, an order given by him to pay the sum of one hundred ducats for tiles and repairs of the roof of the same basilica [7] ; on the 21st of November, he gives another mandate for one hundred ducats, to be paid for the restoration of its floors, and on November 21st, still another of two hundred ducats, for the same purpose [8]. The Pope took care not only of the edifice of St. Peter's church, but even its grand organ was contributed by him [9]. Finally, on the 16th of February, 1502, he paid two hundred and six ducats, the remainder of a larger sum, for the brick pavement of the approaches to the basilica, on St. Peter's square [10].

We have noticed that, when yet a cardinal, he completely restored his first title church, that of St. Nicholas in the Tullian prison.

The most remarkable church improvement of pope Alexan-

5. Visconti, Città e Famiglie dello Stato Pontificio, t. II, p. 337; Torrigio, Sacre Grotte, p. 109.

6. Oldoin., Addit. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontif., p. 163 ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 446.

7. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Lib. III, Armar. 29, no. 52, f° 236.

8. Ibid., Lib. IIII, no. 53, fiis 26vo and 32vo.

9. Torrigio, Le Sacre Grotte, p. 125.

10. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1501-1503, f° 103.

der VI is the one of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, which is still, as he finished it, an object of universal admiration. To execute the work he chose the famous architect and painter, Giuliano di San Gallo, and ordered him to first restore the roof and then to build its large wooden ceiling of fretted pannels, adorned with the first gold, as it is generally believed, ever yielded by America [11]. It is until this day without an equal in any public building [12]. Fulvius also speaks of a beautiful picture donated by the Pontiff to Santa Maria Maggiore. What lively interest pope Alexander VI took in the work is evidenced by the fact, that on frequent occasions he personally went to inspect its progress. Thus for instance, he solemnly visited the basilica on the 27th of February, 1493, to see what preparations had been made ; anew, on Sunday, the 5th of the following month of May, and again, on the 21st of April, 1498 [13]. The escutcheon of the Pope forms the center of the vast ceiling and appears in one or two other parts, while, above the main entrance of the church are to be seen the Borgian arms without impalement. The Pontiff appointed as special watchman to guard this costly monument, the priest, Leonard the German, a chaplain of the basilica, and paid him four ducats and sixty bolognese every three months [14].

Another of pope Alexander's first cares was the restoration of the church of St. John of Lateran, his cathedral seat as bishop of Rome. Already on the 5th of May, 1493, he solemnly went on horseback to this basilica, in order to see the work of the renewal of the ceiling of its transept, between

11. Vasari, Vite dei piu excellenti Pittori, p. 278.

12. Fulvius, ap. Archiv. della Società di Storia Patria, vol X, f° XXV ; Oldoinus, Add. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 163 ; Gregorov., Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 658.

13. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 43, 69 and 458.

14. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 532, at the 13th of August, 1503.

the middle nave and the tribune, and generally called the apse or the sanctuary [15].

The church of St. James of the Spaniards was a magnificent structure when erected in the year 1259, but had become very dilapidated during the long schism of the West. For love of his native country, the Pope restored it from top to bottom, and placed upon it his coat of arms [16]. When, about the same time, in 1496, the notorius Pedro de Aranda renovated the Spanish national hospice, connected with the church, the Pontiff allowed him, for that purpose, a small portion of the Piazza Agonale [17].

He, finally, repaired the roof and the floor of the church of " Santi Apostoli " [19].

These churches, renewed at great expense, are sufficient witnesses of the generosity of pope Alexander VI and of his zeal for the beauty of the house of God. He built no new sanctuaries, but invited and encouraged cardinals and princes to foster piety and to embellish Rome, by erecting other beautiful church buildings. Nor were his endeavors made in vain.

In memory of his visit to the papal City, king Charles VIII, in the year 1495, laid the foundation of the church of " Santa Trinità dei Monti ", on the " Pincio ", which was finished by cardinal Briçonnet [19].

In the same year was commenced by the Spaniards the church, with the adjoining national hospital, of " Santa Maria in Monserrato " [20]. Antonio di San Gallo was its architect, but it has undergone considerable changes.

15. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 68; Oldoinus, Add. ad Ciacon. Vitae Roman Pontiff., p. 162.
16. Victorelli, Add. ad Ciacon., Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 154.
17. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. VI. P. I, p. 177, Ref. to Div. Cam. 51, Armar. 29, no. 51, fo 85vo.
18. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 416.
19. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 650 ; Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 420.
20. Idem, ibid.

The church and hospital of St. Rochus were raised at the " Ripetta " docks, by the Slavonians, in the year 1500 [21].

Mathias Lang, the German envoy, lay the foundation stone of the beautiful gothic church and hospice called " dell' Anima ", on the 11th of April of the same year [22]. The church of St. Lawrence " in damaso " and the adjacent monumental palace of cardinal Raphael Riario, were built by that prelate, according to plans of the famous Bramante, during the last years of pope Alexander VI. The beautiful structure is used until this day and known as the papal Chancery.

Nor should we forget to mention the little jewel of Bramante's art, the " Tempietto ", or chapel, built in honor of St. Peter's martyrdom, on " Montorio ", by the kings of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year 1502 [23].

The building activity of pope Alexander VI was not confined to religious edifices, but extended itself to buildings intended for the temporal benefit of the people. During his frequent walks through all parts of the City, which, only a few decades before, was but a mass of ruins and a common pasturage for cattle, he kept a vigilant eye on all public structures, and found many of these to be sorely in need of completion or urgent repairs. From the first days of his pontificate he constantly devoted his best cares and all the money that he could afford, to the renovation and improvement of these constructions ; while, at the same time, he earnestly invited, by the grant of special privileges, the members of his court, to erect such residences as would be ornaments to the City. At the end of his reign, its general aspect was so materially ameliorated that, in all justice, he might have been awarded the permanent title of Restorer of Rome.

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21. Gregorovius, ibid.
22. Id. ibid.
23. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 556.

ARTICLE II. — HE IMPROVES THE VATICAN PALACE.

Pope Innocent VIII had felt the need of more room at the apostolic palace and had commenced the addition, " domum ", called the Belvedere, at the Northern end of the Vatican lawn ; but death prevented him from finishing the work. On the 31st of March, 1495, his successor ordered still two thousand one hundred and fifty gold florins to be paid to the widow of Master James de Petrasancta for labor performed on it, according to a due bill issued in his favor on the 24th of July, 1492 [24]. Pope Alexander VI finished this beautiful edifice [25], now mainly used as a Museum.

The Pontiff found at the other end of the lawn, alongside of St. Peter's basilica, the rough beginnings of a vast building, which had been abandoned ever since the death of pope Nicholas V in the year 1455. Already during the first year of his reign he had workmen to build on these foundations a solid two-story edifice, called the " Torre Borgia ", the Borgian pile. A suite of spacious rooms on the second floor was specially prepared for the Pope's private dwelling, and is known still as the " Appartamenti Borgia ". These halls were frescoed by the illustrious painters Pietro Perugino and Bernardino Pinturicchio, to whom the Pope assigned, as principal subjects of their paintings, representations of various sciences and of religion history. To suit the tastes of the time, the artists filled a few intervening spaces, especially on the ceilings, with motifs taken from clean mythology. There is also a picture of the Pontiff praying before an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which Vasari, in a slanderous mood, has wrongly imagined to be a likeness of the youthful Julia

24. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527, fo CLXXVIII vo.

25. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXII, 242 : Ex Registris, Alex. VI, not foliated, Cap. " Fabricae ".

Farnese. Into the Southern outside wall of the Torre Borgia is masoned, at heights of the first and of the second stories and directly under the eaves, in increasing sizes, the coat of arms of the Borgian Pope [26].

The apostolic palace was deficient in accommodations for the papal treasurer, and this lack often caused inconveniences and a constant expense as rent of his dwelling. In the year 1497, the Pontiff gave orders to cardinal Francis de Borgia, his cousin and treasurer, to erect for himself a becoming residence, behind, and attached to, the tribune or sanctuary of St. Peter's basilica, to consist of a courtyard, with a stable on one side and, on the other, with rooms and offices for his own use and that of his servants. The cardinal was to advance the money required for the purpose, and it is interesting to see that on the 26th of February, 1498, he had laid out the sum of nineteen hundred and four ducats and twenty-five bolognese, which the papal treasury was unable to repay him. Cardinal Raphael Riario, the " Camerarius ", or director of the pontifical finances, gave him security for the amont due [27].

One of the last works of pope Alexander VI was restoring and refurnishing the sacristy of the apostolic palace. His private treasurer paid, on the day before the Pontiff's death, to John Baptist Buoncontento, the sum of eighty ducats and fifty and one half bolognese, for certain materials and labor contributed to it [28].

As circumstances required, the Pontiff made several other improvements in the buildings and fittings of the Vatican, two examples of which are related in a curious record of

26. Cfr. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 553.

27. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. Ann. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, n. 52, f° 217.

28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, an Adjunct to vol. 532, at the date of August 17th, 1503.

payment made by his private treasurer, the bishop of Massa, as follows : " Paid to Master Montino, a blacksmith, for the value of four hundred and three pounds of wrought iron, for two chains fastened in the apostolic palace, in the passage-way, in front of the hall occupied by the servants of the duke of Valentinois, which was recently restored, and for the cartage of the same chains, nine ducats and forty-four and a half bolognese " [29].

On the 4th of August, 1497, he made an allotment of six hundred ducats, for the improvement of the audience and tribunal hall of the " Camera apostolica " [30].

He also erected one of the buildings of the originally Flemish cemetery of " Campo Santo ", adjoining St. Peter's basilica on the south side ; and, on the 25th of August, 1499, he ordered for its construction, the partial payment of two hundred and eight florins and twenty-four bolognese, which were paid on the following day to the bishop of Toul [31].

ARTICLE III. — THE POPE REBUILDS THE CASTLE OF SANT' ANGELO.

The city walls built by pope Leo IV, in the year 850, and partly running from the apostolic palace to Hadrian's grave, now the castle of Sant' Angelo, were at this time in a state of utter decay. Raynaldi [32] relates upon the authority of Infessura, that pope Alexander VI restored them in the year 1493, and fortified them with towers. The fact is that the Pontiff commenced this great work of renovation, at the place where these city defences adjoin the Vatican grounds, during the

29. See Document 185.
30. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. III, vol. VI, P. I, p. 177, Refer. to Div. Cam., Armar. 29, no. 51, f° 226.
31. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at the date.
32. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1493, no. XXVII.

QUARTERS OF THE PALACE GUARD AND ENTRANCE TO THE COVERED GALLERY, AT THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE VATICAN, BUILT BY POPE ALEXANDER VI.

first months of his reign, in 1492. We read below his escutcheon, at this point, the words : Alexander—PP. VI. anno—MCCCCLXXXXII ". The same year, he there erected the quarters of the apostolic palace guard, which are even to this day in a state of perfect preservation.

Over the main gate are inserted his pontifical insignia and a commemorative stone with the inscription :

" Alexander VI. Pont. Max. - Calixti III. Pont. Max. Nepos - Natione. Hispanus. patria. - Valentinus. Gente. Borgia. - Portas. et. Propugnacula. — a. Vaticano. ad. Hadriani. - Molem. Vetustate. confe - cta. tutiora. restituit. - An. Salutis. MCCCCLXXXXII. "

The vastness of the restoration makes it, however, very credible, that the work was still going on during the following year.

Almost half-way down to the castle, the Borgian coat of arms, appears once more on the gallery, built of the summit of the ancient city wall. Von Reumont [33] relates that pope Alexander VI only restored, but the contemporary Fulvius credits the Pontiff with originating, this elevated corridor. He says, indeed [34] : " He restored the ruined fortifications of that district, in which he contrived, " excogitavit ", a path for the convenience of the Pontiffs, and built it from the Vatican dwellings to the Hadrian pile ; and along this way he could, as often as he desired, be carried with all security and secrecy, after its recesses were first explored ". The corridor consisted of a narrow passage between two slender walls built on the slightly projecting moresque cornices of the repaired city wall, leaving open spaces between them and a roof superstructed on special supports.

These Northern defenses of the Leonine City and their

33. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III. s. 445.

34. Antiq. Urbis, f° XII.

concealed gallery are complete ruins to-day, and there is hardly enough of them left, to indicate what they once have been.

The repairs of the Northern City Walls were but a step to the restoration and improvement of their Eastern termination, the castle of Sant' Angelo. This structure, originally the grave of emperor Hadrian, covered with a huge, imperishable pyramid, was first converted into a fortress by pope Boniface IX, and his successors added further defensive works to it. In what a dilapidated condition the Pontiff found all these later fortifications may be inferred from the peculiar coincidence that, while the king of France, Charles VIII, was threatening them with his artillery, a portion of their walls, from thirty to forty feet in length, crumbled down, on the 10th of January, 1495, in consequence of a heavy rain [35]. There was no need of ascribing the accident to any miracle [36].

Pope Alexander VI commenced already in the year 1493, to make some of the most urgent repairs of the castle of Sant' Angelo, on which he spent the sum of two hundred and forty-three ducats and fifty-eight bolognese [37]. But it was properly in 1494 that he undertook the total remodeling of the fortress, and confided the direction of the works to Antonio di San Gallo, whom he greatly esteemed and richly rewarded [38]. On the 6th of May, 1495, Antonio received already six hundred and twenty-five florins for work done on the castle [39].

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35. Comme les murs de la ville estoient tombez—which is incorrect—aussi tomba bien quinze brassées des avantmurs du chasteau Sainct-Ange, comme m'ont conté plusieurs, et entre autres, deux Cardinaux qui y estoient. Ph. de Commines, Memoires, Livre VII, Ch. XI.

36. Or allegoient-ils bien que ces murs estoient tombez par miracle : Id. ibid., Ch. XII.

37. See Document 186.

38. Vasari, Vite de' piu Excellenti Pittori, p. 279 ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 415.

39. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introïtus et Exitus, vol. 527, at the date.

As soon as the general plans were drawn, the works were begun by laborers who commenced to dig the fosses that were to surround the whole structure [40].

The new construction formed a vast quadrangle around the base of the original pyramid, and at each angle went up a large bastion, projecting over the lines of the enclosures or curtains. Above those buildings was erected a round structure, resting on the broad walls of the ancient monument, and, finally, a smaller circular building rose up from the middle of the one below. All walls were topped off with battlements, whose merlons and crenels, together with their ornaments of moresque style, gave to the fortress a martial, yet pleasing aspect. A couple of lower square bastions, projecting from the Southern wall, guarded the small entrance to the main story of the castle and to the drawbridge that gave access to it over the moat [41].

The structures were commenced in the beginning of the year 1495, and were completed during the first months of 1497. The Pontiff drew from his treasury on the last day of March of the former year, four thousand gold florins, to pay in part for their construction [42] ; and on the 1st of April, 1497, a payment of eleven hundred and sixty-six florins and sixty bolognese was still made, " pro fabrica ", for the building of the castle [43].

At the same time that the masons were erecting the structures, other laborers continued to dig a deep moat or " fosse " and throwing up a parapet and rampart all around the fortification [44]. A partial payment of seven hundred and ninety-three gold florins and forty-four bolognese was made, and a sum of one hundred and four florins and twelve bolognese

40. See Document 187.

41. Victorellus, ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 154 ; Venuti, Numismata Roman. Pontiff, p. 44.

42. See Document 188.

43. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the date.

44. Fulvius, Antiquitates Urbis, fo XXXvo.

was, on the 19th of March, 1495, and on the following day, paid for the edifice and for some excavations in the castle itself [45].

We may here notice that, while digging the fosses, the workmen accidentally turned up the bust of Hadrian's colossal statue, that had once stood on the summit of his mausoleum. The relic was then placed over the main entrance of the castle [46],, and is now to be seen at the museum of the Belvedere.

The Pontiff ordered to be made higher the door to the ancient pyramid, and, in its interior, a staircase to be built to its various floors [47]. At the foot of these stairs he dug a cistern and excavated a new story, almost entirely below the surface of the grounds, a basement, that he divided into two parts, one of which he made into five pits, for the keeping of wheat, and he partitioned the other into five rooms, for the detention of prisoners [48].

The buildings erected by pope Alexander VI were considerably damaged on the 29th of October, 1497, when a bolt of lightning shattered the marble angel that surmounted the castle and hurled some of its fragments as far as the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, half a mile distant. The flash penetrated also the powder magazine, whose explosion tore away parts of the upper rotunda killing a number of men [49]. The Pope repaired the damage at once and replaced the Angel with a new statue, which is the one that adorns the castle till this day [50].

45. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527, at the date.

46. Visconti, Città e Famiglie, t. I, P. II, p. 231 ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 415.

47. Von Reumont, ibid.

48. See Document 190 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXII, 242, Cap. Fabricae ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 650.

49. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. p. 411.

50. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Politicorum Varia, XLVII, fo 163vo ; Raph. Volaterran. (R. Maffei) Comment. Urban., Lib. XXII ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 408.

The restored apartments were decorated by Pinturicchio with fresco paintings, that represented various incidents of the visit of king Charles VIII in Rome, as we may learn from their inscriptions copied by Lawrence Behaim. They were : 1st. The King genuflecting and kissing the feet of pope Alexander VI in the Vatican garden ; 2d. The solemn obeisance of the King in the presence of the Sacred Consistory ; 3d. The bestowal of the cardinalitial dignity upon William Briçonnet and Philip of Luxemburg ; 4th. The Pope's pontifical Mass, with the King serving at the altar ; 5th. The visit to St. Paul's church, the King holding the stirrup for the Pope ; 6th. The departure of the King for Naples, taking along with him cardinal Cesar de Borgia and the Mohammedan prince Zizim [51].

To make the defence of the castle more effective and to prevent the enemy from lurking in or behind the buildings nearby, pope Alexander VI extended the vacant grounds around it, by leveling the vineyards and demolishing the houses in its neighborhood, after making due compensation to their owners [52].

The castle was hardly finished, when it was provided with ammunition, artillery and a garrison under a special commander. We see the Pontiff spend already, on the 28th of February, 1497, the sum of ninety-six florins and five bolognese for five thousand three hundred and twenty-nine pounds of lead, to be used for ammunition [53].

On the 7th of the following August, he disbursed eight hundred and eighty-six florins and thirty-three bolognese, for two cannons cast in Naples and destined for the fortress [54].

Again, on May 10th, 1499, he paid thirty-one florins and

51. Munich, Staatsbibl. Hartman Codex ; Vasari, Vite de piu eccellenti Pittori, vol. III, p. 500, no. 2.

52. See Document 189.

53. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the date.

54. Ibid., vol. 530, at the date.

eighteen bolognese for the material of a new cannon, for the defence of the castle of Sant' Angelo [55].

Finally, the Roman Barberini library [56] relates that he, sparing no expense, cast four cannons, two petards, two " sacros ", one serpentine and other firearms, and that he bought, moreover, the artillery of the king of Naples, for the sum of fifty thousand florins. Burchard [57], who evidently underrates the values, describes the procession of the eighty wagons on which were conveyed, on the 28th of May, 1502, from the ships to Sant' Angelo, the great number of cannons of every description and the field musketry, together with the iron bullets and barrels of powder and saltpeter, that had belonged to Frederic, the former king of Naples. The Pope stood at the gate of the castle watching their arrival.

It is noteworthy that the Pope was, at times, unable to pay for the work performed at the castle or its dependencies ; but on such occasions he had his private treasurer to advance the money due. When, on the 17th of August, 1503, pope Alexander VI was on the point of death, the accommodating official, Ventura de Benassais, bischop of Massa, to place himself on the safe side, paid to himself the loans thus made, with money then in the Pontiff's personal treasury, and honestly made a corresponding entry into his books [58].

The renewal of the castle was an event of such importance, that a medal was struck on the occasion. It is of a diameter of about two and one third inches. The obverse is a left bust of the Pontiff, bareheaded and dressed in a cope, with the motto : " Alexander VI Pont. (ifex) Max. (imus) Just. (itiae) Pacis q. (ue) Cultor ". The reverse is a representation of the castle and has the surrounding legend : " Arcem In Mole Div. (i) Hadr (iani) Instaur.(avit) Foss. (is) ac Propugnaculis Mun (ivit).

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55. Ibid., vol. 531, at the date.
56. Cod. XXXII, Cap. Fabricae.
57. Diar., t. III, p. 207.
58. See Document 190.

Alexander VI. Pont. Maximus
Pacisq(ue) Cultor.

Arcem in Mole
Divi Hadr(iani)
Instaur(avit)
Foss(is) ac Propugnaculis
Mun(ivit.).

Although some vandals have of late years defaced the armorial ensigns of pope Alexander VI on the castle of Sant' Angelo, like those of Urban VIII and of Pius IV, who had also improved the fortress, yet the Borgian papal escutcheon can still be distinguished on the four sides of the grand structure. On the lower rotunda, facing the bridge, is a large marble slab, inserted in the wall, bearing the mutilated insignia, supported by two angels, and the inscription underneath " Alexander VI. Pont. Max. (Instauravit) An. Sal. MCCCCLXXXXV ".

ARTICLE IV. — THE POPE IMPROVES STREETS AND AQUEDUCTS.

Pope Alexander VI paid careful attention also to the secondary defences of the City, to the walls of Rome. An order of payment was made, on the 19th of March, 1494, in favor of Master Thomas Mataratio, a mason, for the sum of fifty gold ducats, as part payment for work done in restoring the dilapidated defences of the City near the Appian, or San Sebastiano, gate. A like amount was paid him on the 2d of the following month of May [59].

Upon an order issued the 17th of May, 1495, the apostolic treasury paid, on the 22d of November, 1497, to Gaspar de Cerano, charged with the construction of the rampart at the " Porta major " and the gate of St. Paul, two hundred and fifteen florins and seventeen bolognese ; namely, to satisfy for the labor of building the retention wall, and of throwing up the earthwork on the upper side. On the same day were paid to the archpriest Ludovicus de Caldarole, one hundred and twenty-five florins and thirty-eight bolognese, which he had advanced for the same works [60].

59. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1492-1500, at the dates.

60. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 530, at the latter date.

As far as Ponte Molle, the Pontiff strengthened the adjacent fortification, upon which he left his commemorative escutcheon [61].

Visconti [62] states that in the year 1500, pope Alexander VI repaired the walls of Rome generally; and this may be learned from the fact, that we find his arms inserted in them at several places.

Nor did the Pontiff overlook the apertures in the city walls, that is, the gates of Rome ; especially those of the Leonine or Vatican city. He restored nearly all of these [63], removed the narrow iron gate at the Northern end of the bridge of Sant' Angelo, and replaced it with a beautiful large one, farther to the West, between the Tiber and the fortress [64].

He likewise rebuilt the gate of Cavallegieri, where, until this day, the marble keystones, about two by three feet large, on both sides of the arch, bear his escutcheon. On the Northern side especially are the emblems : the ox, the bars and even the flamelets on the bordure, in a state of almost perfect preservation.

The Porta Settignana, formerly Settimiana, originally built by emperor Septimius [65], which forms the entrance to the " Trastevere ", still owes its shape to pope Alexander VI, who rebuilt it [66]. The renewal of this gate was paid for on the 7th of October, 1494 [67].

At the same time satisfaction was made for the restoration of the gate of " San Spirito ", and for the repairs of the " Turris testacea " and the " Turris Ripae " on the bank of the river [68].

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61. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 231.
62. Città e Famiglie, t. I, P. II. p. 292.
63. Fulvius, Antiq. Urbis, f° XII
64. Id. ibid., f° XXXvo.
65. Oldoinus ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 163.
66. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 461.
67. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1492-1500, fiis 92, 113vo.
68. Ibid.

On the 6th of June, 1495, Master John, a carpenter, received one hundred and seventy-two florins and thirty-six bolognese, for his labor in making protections to the gates of Rome [69].

By thus attending to the fortifications and gates of the City, the Pope largely contributed to the security and peace of the Roman people ; and, while constantly improving the general appearance of Rome, he showed also, by restoring its dilapidated bridges, his solicitude for the facilities and safety of communication of its inhabitants.

The need of repairing and renewing the City's bridges was the most pressing at the Sixtine, the reopening of which entailed a lasting expense of the papal treasury. It had, indeed, in the course of time, not only fallen into decay, but had also been obstructed by one or more mills, that had to be demolished before it could be rebuilt. These mills were expropriated and paid for by annual installments of thirty-two and a half gold florins, payable to their former proprietors [70].

On October 7th, 1494, the archpriest Ludovicus de Caldarole received two orders of payment, for two hundred and twenty-eight ducats, as reimbursement of the money that he spent in repairing the Salario, Mammolo and Lomentano bridges [71].

On the 15th of December, 1496, the Pontiff paid twenty-nine ducats to Dominic Guilliario, a watchman of the bridges, for expenses made in strengthening the Lucano, and again the Salario and the Mammolo bridges [72].

In the year 1497, quite an amount of masonry was done at the bridge of Sant' Angelo ; for, on the 23d of June of that year, there was paid for it the sum of four hundred and sixteen ducats and forty-eight bolognese [73]. This bridge was

69. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527, at the date.

70. See Document 191.

71. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1500, fiis 92, 113vo.

72. Ibid., f° 86.

73. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the date.

also repaved in 1499. That year, on the 8th of January, Evangelist de Rubris and Stephan de Buffalis, supervisors of the streets of Rome, were provided with money for paving with bricks the remaining or last portion of the bridge of Sant' Angelo [74].

There were paid, on the 27th of November, 1497, to Gentile de Fulginia, two hundred and fifty, and again sixty-one ducats and eighteen bolognese, for guarding and repairing the bridges of the City [75].

We, finally, happened to notice that, on October 12th and on November 16th, 1502, were paid, each time, for repairs on Ponte Molle, fifty-two ducats and six bolognese [76].

We have no proof to show that, in the first years of his reign, pope Alexander VI gave any special heed to the streets of the City, which were narrow, crocked and nearly all unpaved. The supervisors kept them in repairs at great annual cost. In 1499 the papal treasury estimated at three thousand florins, a year, the damage done to streets by carriages of comfort and pleasure ; and, at their request, the Pontiff, who, like most of the better class of people, went out on horseback, decided, in the consistory of February 20th, that henceforth no man should be allowed in Rome to travel in coaches any longer, except the cardinals, who were allowed to keep one such vehicle [77].

That he was in favor of airy places and of wider streets, or even made regulations to that effect, may be inferred from the following facts. Burchard relates [78] that on the 5th of May, 1499, the Pope paid a solemn visit to Santa Maria Maggiore, accompanied by fifteen hundred men and twelve

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74. Archiv. Secret. Vatic,, Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499, fo 147vo.

75. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 530, at the dates.

76. Ibid., vol. 533, at the dates.

77. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat. Cod. 12555 : " Decreta Consist. ab Alexander VI usque ad Urban. VIII, fo 9vo.

78. Diar., t. II, p. 530.

cardinals, and that, at his return, he publicly gave orders for streets to be made wider at many places.

When, on the 9th of November, 1500, an overflow of the Tiber had caused five houses on its left bank to tumble down, between the Sant' Angelo bridge and the " Torre di Nona ", the Pope not only forbade to rebuild them, but also expropriated and tore down several more adjoining structures, thus creating the spacious Southeastern approach to the bridge [79].

It is also noticeable in this respect, that, when cardinal Riario erected his beautiful palace and the church of St. Lawrence in Damaso, he left so much space for the street, that even to this day it is known as the square, " Piazza ", of the Chancery.

The principal street improvement, however, of pope Alexander VI is his straight, " Recta ", or Alexandrine way, " Via ", from the castle of Sant' Angelo to the gate of the Vatican palace. This thoroughfare, now the Borgo Nuovo, forms, indeed, the main feature of the whole Leonine City.

The opening of this new street was first officially spoken of at the consistory of the 18th of January, 1499, when cardinal Orsini made the remark that such undertakings had formerly been paid by contributions of the court officials. Thereupon the Pope charged the cardinal of St. George to find these taxation lists and to inquire into whatever else had been done in the past, and said that he himself would gladly pay his share [80]. An obstacle was encountered near the Eastern end of the projected way, where there was an ancient pyramid, " meta " ; miscalled by the people, the grave of Romulus or of Scipio, which had been formerly converted into an outwork of the castle of Sant' Angelo, and could as well be utilized for attack by an enemy. The Pontiff ordered it to be razed to the ground, but he preserved the fine marble of which it was

79. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 85.
80. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat. Cod. 12555 : Decreta Consist., fo 9vo.

constructed and which was afterwards used to pave the court-yard called the Paradise [81]. This and other obstructions were removed one after another ; and, on the 24th of December, 1499, after dinner, Burchard says [82], the new way was completed and opened ; and all the cardinals and others who came to the basilica of St. Peter, rode their horses over it, while the former street, the Borgo Vecchio, had been closed with a wall.

The Via Alexandrina was not paved, however, before the year 1505, with the exception of its Western portion that passed over St. Peter's square. In 1501, pope Alexander VI covered the whole of this place with a brick pavement, and paid the greater part of its costs. A sum of two hundred and fifty florins and twenty-one bolognese was handed to Master Stephen de Mediolano, on the 17th of February of the following year [83]. On the 19th of July, 1503, the same Stephen de Mediolano received fifty-two florins and six bolognese, for his labor in fitting up, " pro aptanda ", St. Peter's square [84].

The Alexandrine way was now open, but devoid of buildings. The Pontiff desired to see it beautified with handsome structures, whose fronts, at least, should reach a certain height [85]. He first enticed the Romans and especially the members of his court to build, by issuing, in the beginning of the year 1500, letters by which he granted to all who would erect or buy structures on either side, all the privileges bestowed by a bull of Sixtus IV, which he had already renewed on the 6th of October, 1494 [86], in regard to Rome, in general, and its suburbs. The principal favors were, that

81. Torrigio, Le Sacre Grotte, p. 195 ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 416.
82. Diar., t. II, p. 601.
83. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at the date.
84. Ibid., vol. 533, at the date.
85. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXII, Cap. Fabricae.
86. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. De Curia, an. I ad X, t. I, Regest. 874, fo 12vo.

edifices built there could be paid with ecclesiastical revenues, and yet be disposed of according to their owner's wish : by sale, gift or last will ; and, in case of one dying intestate, they should go to his nearest kin, even though otherwise unable to inherit [87].

In order to make more acceptable to prospective builders the parcels of property along the new street, that were encumbered with annuities or dues to pious institutions, he gave permission to pay off the liens or to transfer upon other real estate the annual tributes [88].

The building operations did not, however, proceed fast enough to suit the Pontiff's wishes, and, on the 1st of April, 1500, he resorted to his preeminent right upon church property, to command all superiors and communities of pious and religious institutions, who owned any plots of ground along the street, to erect buildings on them, in conformity with his regulations, at least seven canes high on the side of the street. He gave them fifteen days to commence the construction and two months to finish it. Yet, should they be unwilling to build, they were allowed to sell or rent at long terms to such as were willing. But, should they neither build upon, nor alienate their ground, they would forfeit forever all their right of ownership and possessions to the apostolic treasury, which would sell or rent to those who were expected to build, and deposit the proceeds with the papal general depositary [89].

In this way the Valencian nobleman, Michael Corella, secured, in the year 1502, a dwelling in the " Via Alexandrina ", at the price of one thousand florins, deducted from the stipends due to him as a captain of the papal army [90].

87. Bullar. Roman. Luxemburgi 1727. Privilegia ædificantium in Via Alexandrina.

88. Bullar. Roman. Leonis X. Constit. XIX § 4.

89. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. De Curia, an. I ad X, t. I. Regest. 874, f° 35vo.

90. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Div. Cam. 1501-1503. Lib. V, Armar. 29. no. 54, f° 180.

Already before the Pontiff's death, the new street was one of the most beautiful in Rome. The famous architect, Bramante, had already commenced his model of Renaissance style, the palace Giraud, now known as the Torlonia, built for cardinal Adrian de Corneto, opposite the small square of " Scossa Cavalli ".

There was one more branch of public service, the aqueducts and fountains of the City, that needed improvement, to increase the beauty of Rome and the convenience of its inhabitants. The principal discharge of the ancient " Aqua Trajana ", the fountain near the basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere, claimed first the Pontiff's attention and care. About the middle of the seventeenth century it bore still the following inscription : " The Supreme Pontiff Alexander VI restored this fountain, become unsightly through age, to its former condition ; under the happy supervision of the Valencian John Lopez, cardinal of Perugia, for the benefit of the Roman people [91] ". No sign of his work remained, however, after pope Alexander VI renewed it [92], and after the S.P.Q.R. lately put their cast-iron fence around it.

A fountain had been commenced by pope Innocent VIII in St. Peter's Square, especially for watering the saddle horses of the visitors to the Vatican or to St. Peter's church ; and it affords until this day much relief to the horses and donkeys of the people entering the City by the Angelica and the Cavallegieri gates. It is easily understood that pope Alexander VI, who had always been so deeply concerned with the betterment of this part of Rome especially, continued the useful work of his predecessor and made of it a magnificent construction. Cantu [93] attributes it to Bramante, but, while this name is

91. Oldoinus, Addit. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 162.

92. von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 416 or seq.

93. Histoire Univers., vol. XIV, p. 259.

not mentioned, Master Albert de Placentia is clearly named the architect of Our Holy Father in the records of payment made for the fountain. The structure consisted of a suitable base, which supported two oxen carved in stone and gilded, the water issuing from their mouths and flowing into a marble basin, that was provided with two metal handles and adorned with two metal gilded escutcheons of the Pope. It had a gilt cover on a block of stone supporting two colonnettes and other objects of art. The overflow ran down into a sewer that is covered still with a large marble slab. The fountain was finished and the flow of water was started on the 16th of December, 1501 [94]. Its water runs yet, but its artistic ornaments have all disappeared.

We give, as Document 192, some payments made for the several details of St. Peter's fountain.

Those and others, that may have escaped our attention, were the public works which pope Alexander VI accomplished, to restore and beautify the City of Rome and to promote the security and convenience of a people whom he loved and who, on their part, had been loyal to him for half a century.

As a parent knows that honest diversion improves his children, so was the Pontiff aware that public rejoicings and amusements are a political necessity for the inhabitants of a city or country at large ; and, in spite of hostile or unwise critics, who made it a crime for him, he spent not a little money to encourage, as his predecessors had done, the sports of the Romans : their prize games and carnivals [95]. Thus he paid for the carnival of the year 1503 the sum of four hundred and twenty-nine florins and nineteen bolognese [96]. Unfortunately he could not exclude every abuse from these popular festivities.

94. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 173.

95. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXII, 242. Cap. Fabricae.

96. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, at Mch. 27.

Nor was the Pope's provident care confined within the walls of Rome. He managed to visit from time to time the various towns and cities of his Pontifical States, and observed what improvements should be made, especially in the fortifications of those cities, so that the people might feel secure from possible attacks, not only of foreign enemies, but also of his own turbulent vassals.

On the 10th of June, 1493, he gave an order of payment of six thousand three hundred and fifty-five ducats and twenty bolognese, to Master Bartholomew Luchini of Lombardy, a mason, in compensation for his labor on a wall of five thousand three hundred and seventy-five canes. to repair the castle of Auffide [97].

Ten days later, he gave an order to pay twenty thousand and sixteen florins and thirteen bolognese, to Master John Dominic Antonelli and to his son Vincent of Vicomaro, both masons, in payment for a wall at Osimo, in the Marches, besides another for the payment of eighteen hundred and twenty-five ducats and twenty-one bolognese, for another stretch of wall at the same city [98].

The Pope issued an order on the 25th of the following month of June, to pay to Lawrence de Pietrasanta the sum of nineteen hundred and twenty-five ducats and fifty-one bolognese, for unspecified structures in Civitavecchia [99] ; and on the 22d of November, 1497, he paid one hundred and twenty-five florins for repairs of its fortress [100].

On the 26th of August, 1495, an order of payment was given in favor of James de Alzina, commander of the castle of Monticelli, for fifty florins to be spent by him, according

97. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. VI. P. I, p. 177, Refer. to Div. Cam. Armar. 29 (?) no. 50, f° 118.

98. Ibid., f° 29.

99. Ibid., f° 131vo.

100. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 530, at the date.

to directions of Our Holy Father the Pope, for repairs of the buildings of the said castle [101].

The Pontiff improved also the stronghold of Tivoli, with money lent by his nephew, cardinal Francis de Borgia. The cardinal had advanced two thousand five hundred and ninety-six ducats and seventy-two and a half bolognese for repairs, artillery and ammunition of this fortress ; and his accounts had been admitted on November 9th, 1495, but only five hundred and nine and a half ducats had been repaid to him by the apostolic treasury. Now, the papal " Camerarius ", Raphael Riario, gave to him and to his heirs security for the remainder, on the 26th of February, 1498 [102].

On March 23d, 1497, two masons received, as part payment for their labor in repairing the fortress of Ostia, the sum of four hundred and sixteen florins and forty-eight bolognese ; and on the 26th of the following April, 1497, two hundred and eight florins were paid for the restoration of the same fortress [103]. From an original letter of the Duke of Brunswick to emperor Maximilian, dated the 6th of May, 1497, we learn that the Most Holy Lord left the City on the 5th, to inspect the castle of Ostia, recently wrested by Gonsalvo Fernandez, the captain of the king of Spain, from the hands of the Frenchmen, and, after inspection, he resolved repair it further [104].

We have noticed already the castle built, in 1500, by pope Alexander VI in Cività Castellana. Vasari states [105] that Antonio di Sangallo was its architect. On the 31st of October, 1502, there was paid from the Pope's private treasury,

101. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, 1492-1500, f° 97vo.

102. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, n. 62, f° 217

103. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the date.

104. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Archives. Maximiliana—1497, Mai 6.

105. Le Vite de piu excellenti Pittori, p. 278.

to Alexander de Heronibus, the commissary of the construction, the sum of five hundred and thirteen ducats, on account [106]. Peter Mathew Lauro of Amelia painted it in the year 1503. On the 17th of June, the Pope's private treasurer paid the artist's salary three months in advance ; that is, for yet a month after pope Alexander's death [107].

Among the restorations mentioned by the Roman Barberini, Codex XIII, 242, is also that of the castle of Civitella, Belegra, in the Picinum ; and, indeed, there is an order of the 21st of October, 1501, by virtue of which there should be paid to Lord Bernard Corberal, castellan of the castle of Holy Archangel of Belegra, the sum of one hundred and twenty-four ducats and seventy bolognese, to repay to him the amount which he had spent in repairing the castle of the said Archangel [108].

Besides building or restoring all those strongholds, the Pope undertook other most useful public works in the Pontifical States. Thus, on the 25th of May, 1500, he ordered Francis Angeli of Anagni to repair the roads leading from Terni to Narni and Otricoli, in order to alleviate the hardships that the foreign pilgrims had to undergo on their journey to Rome, whither they were coming to gain the indulgences of the jubilee [109].

On the 18th of May, 1501, an order of payment was given in favor of Albert de Placentia, amounting to sixty ducats in gold, in remuneration for his masterwork of laying the struts and building the scaffold for the underpinning and other repairs of the bridge over the Migone near the city of

106. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus, et Exitus, an Adjunct, vol. 532, at the date.

107. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, An Adjunct, at the date.

108. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1501-1503, f° 70.

109. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Armar. 29, no. 53, f° 107vo.

Corneto [110]. A second order for a like amount was handed him, in payment for labor on that bridge.

The Pontiff paid on the 12th of March, 1502, for the restoration of the great fountain, of the aqueducts and the reservoir of Perugia[111].

Finally, the Pope was, in August, 1502, erecting a structure, perhaps the pontifical summer retreat, at Rocca di Papa, near Albano [112].

An ancient, though vicious, author [113] offers a proof perhaps more striking than his expensive public works, of the fatherly interest which pope Alexander VI took in the well-being and enjoyment of all his people, when he relates that the Pontiff introduced into his States many foreign novelties, such as partridges and new varieties of grapes and figs.

110. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1501-1503, f° 33.

111. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. De Cam. 1500-1503. Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 142vo.

112. Villari, Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian, vol. I, p. 94.

113. Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Mss. Sessoriani, Cod. 394, f° 47vo.

DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS

DOCUMENT 148.

Mandatum facultatis condendi Statuta, apostolica auctoritate concessa, cum expressa confirmatione D. N. Pape.

Alexander Papa VI. Dilectis filiis Alexio Bocchacii de Ursis, Augustino Martini et Silvestro Cole Pauli Silvestri Conservatoribus, Camere alme Urbis nostre presidentibus, Capitibus Regionum prefate Urbis Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Pastorali incumbit officio ad ea vigilantius attendere per que moderatus et concors omnium civitatum et populorum status gubernetur et perpetue quietis tranquillitas ac salubritas custodiatur. Cujus rei tanto major nos cura tenere debet circa regimen prefate Alme Urbis nostre et civium, quanto magis peculiares filios nostros, eos pre ceteris paterna complectimur charitate. Quorum intestina ac diuturna odia et discordias civilesque dissensiones quas Brigas appellant, que semper in Urbe pernitiose fuerunt, penitus evellere et extinguere cupientes, non ignorantes a nostris predecessoribus summis Pontificibus ad hmoi. Brigas compescendas, et ad armorum damnatas collectas, illicitasque ultiones reprimendas, minasque terribiles et malefactorum receptationes, vulnera, incendia, veneficia, assassinia, stupra aliaque nefandissima crimina, que frequenter et passim in Urbe perpetrantur, prohibendum, illisque resistendum quamplurimas editas fuisse constitutiones, que sive propter nimium severitatis rigorem, sive magistratuum incuriam, parum in usu fuere. Considerantesque quod tanta urbs que universo orbi leges dedit, propriis legibus decretisque regi et vivere mavult quam alienis : eapropter prudentie vestre non parum in Domino fiduciam sumentes, Mandamus vobis atque committimus ut assumptis vobiscum presentibus capitatibus Regionum ac quatuordecim aliis civibus Romanis infrascriptis electis et deputatis, videlicet Christoforo Bufali de Cancellariis perpetuo Urbis cancellario, Paulo Planca utriusque juris doctore et advocato consistoriali, ac Pacerio cum Laurentio de Cafarellis ejus socio et collega, Luca de Casalibus utriusque juris doctore, Carolo de Maximis utriusque juris doctore, Camillo de Bene in bene legum doctore, Marco Salamonio causarum procuratore, Joanne de Palonibus,

Alto de Nigris, Lelio de Subactariis, Francisco de Fuscis, Bernardino de Perleonibus, Antonio Gratiani de Perleonibus, Romanis civibus ; quibus plenam et omnimodam concedimus potestatem et auctoritatem ut, predictis et aliis, quascumque novas sive antiquas tam pontificales quam municipales constitutiones, statuta et decreta quecumque tam ad civiles quam ad criminales causas pertinentes sive pertinentia, ac Senatoris et judicum et Capitolini fori jurisdictionem respicientia, si qua vel si quas correctione vel emendatione aliqua, vel etiam additione seu mutatione necnon et declaratione sive interpretatione indigere comperta fuerint, addere, corrigere, mutare, interpretari et declarare pro vestro arbitrio possitis et valeatis. Quibus omnibus futuris correctionibus, emendationibus, additionibus, mutationibus, declarationibus sive interpretationibus per vos faciendis, ex nunc velut ex tunc, nostram et Sancte Sedis apostolice interponimus auctoritatem, ac perpertui obtinere volumus roboris firmitatem ; necnon et in statutorum antiquorum volumen describi et inseri. et solemnibus preconiis per Urbem publicari mandamus, et perpetuo et inviolabiliter ab omnibus magistratibus et judicibus tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus et quacumque jurisdictione fungentibus in suo foro et tribunali observari ; Ita tamen quod contra Romanos cives solus Senator et judices capitolini ad executionem hujusmodi constitutionum noviter edendarum procedere possint et debeant, et nullus aliús manus apponere valeat, salva Gubernatoris auctoritate ; Decernentes irritum et inane quicquid scienter vel ignoranter in contrarium contigerit attentari ; supplentes Motu proprio et ex certa nostra scientia omnes defectus, si qui sint juris vel facti, vel in his peragendis intervenerint, in contrarium facientes. Non obstantibus quibuscumque. Datum Rome apud sanctumpetrum sub annulo piscatoris die prima Martii mccccIxxxxiiij. Pont. nri. anno secundo.

B. Floridus.

Statuta et Novae Reformationes Urbis Romae Lib. IV, f° 1.

DOCUMENT 149.

Several towns of the diocese of Todi are admitted under the government of the Apostolic Chamber.

Raphael (Camerarius) etc. Egregio decretorum doctori dno. Galassio de franceschinis de Urbeveteri Camere apostolice Commissario Salt. etc. Communitates et homines Castrorum Marciliani Vepris Turris Barathoni et Tudini Tudertin. dioc. per eorum proprios nuntios Camere Apostolice significarunt ex certis justis et legitimis causis nobis notis se velle regimini et gubernio dicte Camere committere, secundum vestigia illorum de Montecastello : quos pari modo ad ipsam Cameram confugientes gratiose recepimus. Nos igitur communitatum et hominum predictorum statui paterno affectu compatientes, ac volentes eis de presidii nostri gremio subvenire, vobis quem in ipsa Camera fidum et expertum semper comperimus, de mandato etc. et auctoritate etc. per presentes committimus ut vos ad singula castra et loca predicta personaliter conferatis, eorumque singulorum ac aliorum quorumcumque communitatum Tuderti locorum ad cameram apostolicam similiter venire volentium communitates et homines in fidem et devotionem ipsius camere pro illa recipiatis, prestitis per eos et eorum singulos fidelitatis debite solitis juramentis, que in authentica forma ad ipsam cameram destinare procurabitis ; et deinde omni studio curetis per singula loca predicta providere eorum gubernio et regimini, taliter ut merito gaudeant se vestre et ipsius camere cure commissos ; ac preter cetera summopere invigiletis ne propter premissa ab ipsis Tudertinis sive aliunde aliqua scandala oriantur... Datum Rome in Camera apostolica die III. Sept. 1496.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1495-1497. Lib. 2. Armar. 29. no. 51. f° 124.

DOCUMENT 150.

Vindication of pope Alexander VI from the accusations of Ferdinand I, king of Naples.

Carta original dirigida por D. Juan Lopiz, obispo electo de Perusa al Il^mo^ Sr. D. Enrique Enriquez.

Muy magnífico é illustríssimo Señor: Por una carta que he visto, vuestra merced faze de su mano á nuestro muy Santísimo Padre, comprendo aquella (that is, vuestra merced) por alguna sinistra informacion haver tomado ó querer tomar concepto egeno de toda verdad en las cosas de acá; é paréceme que no satisfacia á lo que devo y deseo servir vuestra Señoria véndola puesta en tal error, sino gelo quitase, podiendolo fazer verdad por mi carta. Sepa vuestra Señoria, é sea mas cierta que la vida, corazon y destreza de la Santidad de nuestro Señor. otra es que la que vuestra carta figura en muchas cosas, diziendo que otros Pontifices que fueron in minoribus de menor cualidad que no fué su Beatitud, seyendo assumptos al papado, en todo su tiempo non ovieron semejantes afruentas é novidades, como su Santidad ha ovido luego en los principios de su pontificado. Dígoos, Señor, que estos otros pontifices antepasados, que conmemorays, ninguno ovo de tan sublime natura, ni tanto temido cuanto papa Alejandro, per su luenga experiencia, acutísimo ingenio é vehemencia en las acciones. Por donde se causa que con envidia y malicia, algunos como San Pedro advíncula, (Es decir, el cardenal de este titulo.) solevado por el Rey D. Hernando (De Nápoles.). temorizados antes del tiempo, emprezan á tentar é invocar el poco que puenden y saben: pero al fin de la carrera la prudencia y rectitud en las cosas agibles, prevalece y claresce. Vee agora vuestra Señoria como algunos han querido y quieren malignar contra su Beatitud por disminuir y abaxerle la reputación que se le deve, ne se moraville que presto, plaziendo á Dios y á la Virgen Maria, le vereys tam puesto y sublimado en gloriosa reputación ó exclarescida fama, que será bien conforme á su nombre de Alejandro, y quederan entonces confusos los malignos envidiosos temorizados sin porqué, como dijo el Psalmista; illic trepidaverunt timore, ubi non erat timor, Si viésedes, Señor, y contemplásedes, como nosotros acá vemos en

su regimiento y governo, su Beatitud con qué gracia y souavidia fabla, con qué justicia y clemencia donde conviene se tempra, con qué devocion religiosa y liberalidad en las cosas pias se porta, vos maravillaríades por cierto. Da sus audiencias públicas speso (Ital. spesso ?, often.) fasta á las pobres vegesuelas, y con qué paciencia y sufrimiento. Labra en Santa María la mayor una muy insigne obra, aqui en el palacio de San Pedro, en la benedicion, en Campo formio, y en muchos otros lugares ; espende y gasta lo que tiene en justos y buenos usos la mayor parte ; e dá y dará tal razon delante Dios y el mundo de su gloriosa vida, que todos devemos de estar contentes y asombrados.

Manuel Oliver, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI. p. 124 ; and ap. Burchard, Diar. T. III. p. XII. Thuasne, in spite of the signature which he copies, attributes the letter to Cesar de Borgia !

DOCUMENT 151.

Pope Alexander VI confirms the purchase of Cervetri, Anguillara and other places, in favor of Virginio Orsini.

Alexander etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam... Sane ut accepimus dilectus filius Nobilis vir Gentilvirgineus de Ursinis domicellus Roman. emit a dilecto filio Francisco Cibo domicello Januen. inter alia Cerveteris et Viani ac Monterani castra necnon Ischie et Rote tenimenta Senen. et Viterbien. dioc. cum territoriis jurisdictione vassallis imperio et superioritate ac omnibus juribus et pertinentiis eorumdem pro certo pretio inter eum et dictum franciscum Cibo convento... Et cum a nonnullis de viribus emptionis hujusmodi hesitaretur, et propterea inter procuratorem nostrum fiscalem et Gentilvirgineum prefatum... coram certis judicibus lites exorte fuissent in quibus ad nonnullos actus citra tamen illorum conclusionem dicebatur per eosdem judices processum fuisse. Nos igitur qui eumdem Gentilemvirgineum ob sincere devotionis affectum et constantiam quam ipse ejusque genitor et antecessores erga nos et Romanam gesserunt ecclesiam ut peculiarem dicte ecclesie filium

gerimus in visceribus caritatis, Motu proprio... factam per ipsum Gentilemvirgineum emptionem predictam... confirmamus et approbamus... ac dicto Gentilivirgineo pro se ejusque heredibus... castra territoria et tenimenta predicta... concedimus elargimur et donamus... Necnon eosdem Gentilemvirgineum ac heredes et successores a quocumque juramento fidelitatis ac aliis oneribus etiam reverentiis et subjectionibus ad que franciscus Cibo predictus et alii ejus dictorum castrorum predecessores Sedi apostolice debebant, et obligationibus absolvimus ac ab eis francos liberos et exemptos et immunes in perpetuum fore decernimus... Non obstantibus fe. re. Eugenii pp. IIII predecessoris nostri, dum in minoribus constitutis in Provincia nostra Marchie Aconitane Legationis de latere fungeretur officio quo caveri dicitur expresse quod emptiones castrorum et locorum in territoriis Romane ecclesie consistentium licentia Sedis apostolice non obtenta nullius sint roboris vel momenti, et editarum in dicta Provincia constitutionum quarumlibet ad Urbem et alias Provincias civitates et loca temporali dominio Romane ecclesie per recolende memorie Sixtum pp. IIII facta extensione et aliis apostolicis constitutionibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Mccccl xxxx tertio Sextodecimo Kl. Septembris Pont. nri. Anno Primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. I. II. III. Lib. III, Reg. 869, f° 90v°.

On folio 88 of the same Codex is another bull of the same date confirming the purchase of the " comitatus Anguillarie " by Virginio Orsini, wherein it is stated that pope Innocent VIII " Comitatum predictum Sedi apostolice et nulli alii in temporalibus immediate subesse declaravit, ac francisco Cibo pro se et suis filiis concessit et assignavit, et inter alia voluit quod idem franciscus et qui pro tempore foret comes dicti comitatus amicos ecclesie pro amicis et inimicos pro inimicis habere, gentes armigeras ipsius ecclesie ad guerram faciendum contra quoscumque receptare, arma et insignia prefate ecclesie et ipsius Innocenti ac pro tempore existentis Pontificis in portis et locis publicis dicti opidi depingi et depicta manuteneri facere et singulis annis in vigilia festi beatorum Petri et Pauli unam crateram argenti puri ponderis sex unciarum nomine

census Camere apostolice dare, juramentum fidelitatis prestare et alia onera tunc expressa perferre teneatur... "

On folio 92 there is still a third bull of the same import and date, mentioning " Anguillarie et Monterani Sutrin. ac Cerveteris Portuen. et Viani Viterbien. dioc. castra, necnon Rota cum balneis Stigliani tenimenta et partem tenimenti Ischie... "

DOCUMENT 152.

Pope Alexander VI annuls the act of sequestration of Cervetri, Anguillara, etc. made by Virginio Orsini, and orders them restored to him.

Alexander etc. ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Circumspecta Sedis Apostolice providentia non nunquam gesta per eam, ne dispendia et damna inde proveniant revocat, annulat, cassat et immutat prout rerum ponderata qualitate, id salubriter expedire cognoscit. Cum itaque sicut accepimus Dilectus filius Nobilis vir Gentilis Virginius de Ursinis Domicellus Romanus Anguillariae et Monterani Sutrin. ac Cerveteris Portuen. et Viviani Viterbien. Dioc. castra, nec non Rote cum Balneis Stigliani tenimenta et partem tenimenti Ischie a Dilecto filio Nobili viro francisco Cibo Domicello Januen. pro certo inter eos convento precio emerit, et a nonnullis de viribus emptionis hujusmodi hesitaretur, et propterea inter Nos, Cameram apostolicam ac procuratorem nostrum fiscalem, et Gentilem Virginium ac franciscum prefatos, super castris, territoriis et tenimentis predictis coram certis judicibus in Romana curia lites et controversie exorte fuissent, Nos ac Gentilis Virginius et franciscus prefati existimantes quod lites et controversie hujusmodi facto in aliquos ex Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sancte Roman. Ecclesie cardinalibus de castris ac tenimentis et territoriis prefatis sequestro, faciliorem haberent exitum et finem, Gentilis Virginius et franciscus prefati, nostri et Sedis apostolice peculiares filii, castra, territoria et tenimenta prefata in Ven^lis fratris nri Juliani Epi Ostien. et dilecti filii nri Johannis Tituli Sancte Susanne Presbiteri Cardinalis manibus in sequestrum ad trimestre a data praesentium computandum duraturum posuerunt

et tradiderunt, hiis tamen lege et pacto adjectis quod lites et controversie hujusmodi dicto trimestri durante justicia vel concordia terminari et decidi deberent, cui laudo vel sentencie exinde proferendo vel proferende predictus Gentilis Virginius acquiescere promisit, prout in instrumento presentibus de verbo ad verbum proxime annotato plenius continetur, cujus tenor sequitur et est talis : " In Dei nomine Amen... omnium et singulorum praemissorum. "...

Nos ex certis bonis respectibus et causis animum nostrum moventibus, Motu proprio non ad Gentilis Virginii predicti aut aliquorum aliorum pro eo nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantium instantiam, sed ex nostra certa scientia ac de Apostolice potestatis plenitudine instrumentum sequestri predictum presentibus ut premittitur annotatum ac omnia et singula in eo contenta cassamus, irritamus et annullamus, ac pro nullo et infecto nulliusque roboris vel momenti fuisse decernimus. Et nichilominus Juliano Epº et Johanni Cardinali prefatis et eorum cuilibet in solidum sub virtute sancte obedientie ut hujusmodi trimestri elapso, castra, territoria et tenimenta predicta eidem Gentili Virginio, alia a Nobis aut Sede Apostolica licentia non expectata, restituant committimus et mandamus, prout nos illa ex nunc prout ex tunc et e converso dicto trimestri decurso restituimus et restituta fore decernimus. Quodque si interim hujusmodi trimestri durante Sedem Apostolicam vacare aut aliquem ex Juliano et Johanne predictis decedere contigerit, quod eo casu ille ex eis qui superstes erit castra, territoria et tenimenta predicta prefato Gentili Virginio ex tunc restituere teneatur, et si id facere distulerit seu recusaverit, aut ambos Julianum et Johannem prefatos decedere eo trimestri durante contigerit, liceat eidem Gentili Virginio castrorum tenimentorum et territoriorum hujusmodi possessionem propria auctoritate, Sedis predicte aut cujusvis licentia minime requisita, apprehendere, et ut prius ante sequestrum predictum retinere et de illis, prout per alias nostras literas prefato Gentili Virginio disponendi concessum fuerat, disponere libere et licite volumus, concedimus et indulgemus per presentes. Non obstantibus premissis nec non omnibus illis que in dictis literis de ipsis castris, territoriis et tenimentis dicto Gentili Virgini disponendi concessis voluimus non obstare, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Rome apud Sanctum

Petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio Sexto decimo Kalendas Septembris Pontus nri Anno Primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. I. II. III. Lib. III. Regest. 869. f° 92.

DOCUMENT 153.

Legitimation of Carolo Orsini.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Carolo de Ursinis Domicello Roman. Salt... Attendentes igitur quod sicut habet fidedignorum assertio tu qui defectum natalium pateris de dilecto filio Nobili viro Gentilvirgineo de Ursinis de Aragonia domino Tagliacotie et Albe comite coniugato de Baronum genere procreato ad presens Gentium armigerarum Carmi in Christo filii nri ferdinandi Sicilie Regis Illustris capitaneo generali genitus et coniugata forsan etiam de nobili genere procreata defectum hujusmodi honestate morum... legitimamus ac vere ingenuitati et justis natalibus plenarie et efficaciter eisdem motu scientia et potestatis plenitudine restituimus et reintegramus, ac tibi quod in omnibus et singulis per te de cetero a nobis et Sede apostolica aut legatis ejusdem seu alias quomodolibet obtinendis impetrationibus, indultis, gratiis, concessionibus, dispensationibus et literis seu alias concedendis gratiam et justitiam concernentibus, nullam de defectu et dispensatione hujusmodi mentionem facere tenearis, nec gratie et litere desuper conficiende propterea de sureptionis vitio aut intentionis defectu notari possint, sed perinde valeant ac si de defectu et dispensatione predictis plena et expressa mentio facta fuisset eisdem motu et scientia concedimus. Et nichilominus eidem genitori tuo de terris, castris et locis ac bonis hujusmodi in favorem tui testandi et de illis alias disponendi illaque inter vivos et causa mortis tibi donandi, ac alias prout sibi videbitur et placebit concedendi, paribus motu scientia auctoritate et potestatis plenitudine plenam liberam et omnimodam licentiam et facultatem elargimur... Datum Rome apud sanctumpetrum Anno etc. 1493 Sextodecimo Kl. Septembr. Pont. nri anno I.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. I. II. III. Lib. III., Regest. 869. f° 96.

DOCUMENT 154.

Agreement between pope Alexander VI and Alfonso II, king of Naples.

In nomine Domini Amen. Anno ab ejus salutifera nativitate Millesimo quatringentesimo nonagesimo quarto, Indit. XII, die vero vigesima octava mensis Martii, Pont. Sanctmi in Xro patris et domini nri Domini Alexandri divina favente clementia Pape VI anno secundo : Pateat universis et singulis presens hoc publicum instrumentum visuris, audituris et lecturis Quod sanctissimus dnus. nr prefatus, volens et desiderans, more pii et boni patris et domini, Serenissimum dnum. Dnum. Alfonsum dei gratia Sicilie et Hierusalem Regem illustrem paterna caritate et gratia sincereque benevolentie et affectionis munere amplecti, tam Sue Stis quam Illorum dnorum. Domini Johannis de borgia Ducis Gandie, et Dni Juffredi similiter de Borgia nominibus, ex una : Et idem Sermus dnus Rex Alfonsus, cupiens et intendens prefatum Smum dnum. nrum. tanquam patrem et dnum, suum filiali devotione, reverentia et offisiositate prosequi et venerari, per Ill. Dominum Virginium de Ursinis suum regium Capitaneum et magnum comestabulum, Magcos viros Dnos Antonium de alexandro, Loisium de paladinis Equites ac juris utriusque doctores, et Loisium de Casalinovo suum regium Secretarium,veros et legitimos procuratores suos,habentes a sua Majestate ad infrascripta omnia plenum et speciale mandatum per nos notarios infrascriptos visum et lectum, et in fine infrascripte capitulationis de verbo ad verbum fideliter registratum, ibidem presentes et ad infrascripta omnia et eorum singula procuratorio nomine dicti Sermi domini Regis, eorum principalis, intervenientes ex altera partibus, Ad infrascripta capitula, conventiones et pacta inter se mutuo et ad invicem, solemni stipulatione interveniente, et per singula capitula repetita devenerunt, que capitula pro faciliori et clariori intelligentia, de earumdem partium consensu et voluntate moderno sunt descripta sermone, et sunt hec, videlicet :

Capituli de appuntamenti tractati conclusi et firmati tra la Santa di nro. Sre Alexandro VI da una parte, tanto in nome de Sua Sta, quanto etiam in nome et parte de li Ill. don Johanni de Borgia Duca de Gandia, et Don Juffre de Borgia, et li Rmi

Signori Sigr Ol. Epo Sabinen. et Sigre Bap. tt. Sanctorum Johannis et Pauli Prete de la Sa Ro. Chiesa Cardinali Neapolitano et Ursino nuncupati et lo Ill. Sigre Virginio Ursino, li magci misser Antonio de Alexandro, misser Loisio de Paladinis cavaleri et doctori, et misser Loisio de Casalnovo stipulati in nome et parte de la Maiesta del Sre Re Don Alfonso Secondo de Aragonia Re de Sicilia.

In primis che lo matrimonio tractato fra lo Ill. don Juffre predicto et la Ill. Dona Sancia figliola de la prefata Mta resti rato et fermo con tucte le clausule et conditioni in instrumento contenute et capitulate per mezzo de lo Illmo Sre don Frederico Principe de Altemura, etiam concernenti la persona del Rmo Cardinal de Valentia per li quattro milia ducati de beneficii che have ad havere de intrata nello Reame, prout in illis continetur ; Et che esso Don Juffre in lo mese de aprile proximo futuro habia ad essere in Napoli et farle lo sponzalitio sive nuptie con la prefata Dona Sancia et consumare el matrimonio, et li stantiare infino chel dicto matrimonio sia effectualmente consumato, come se contene in li capituli ; Et che la conducta del dicto Don Juffre comince el primo di de Magio proximo che viene, donandosegli la imprestanza cosi per la parte del papa come per quella del Re.

Item che al Ill. Marchese de Giraci don Loise de Aragonia, nepote de la prefata Mta, serra per la dicta Sta donato lo cappello del cardinalato et publicato cardinale per tucto el mese de magio proximo che viene, et de continente se gli expedisca la bolla sottoscripta de mano de Sua Sta et de la magior parte de li Carli ; la qual se debia consegnare allo prefato Sre Virginio, per la quale ex nunc prout ex tunc elapso dicto mense maij sit creatus et publicatus Cardinalis ; Et in questo mezo che se proveda a la dote con la Marchesa ad cio che se possa dissolvere el matrimonio suo facilmente.

Item la Mta predicta ad contemplatione de dicta Sta, allaquale sua Mta recognosce essere per molti beneficii obligata, et per sua mera liberalita et regia munificentia et largita, promecte dare, donare et transferire al dicto Ill. duca de Gandia, etiam de Sua Mta, sicut asseruit et affirmavit, benemerito, Stato in lo Reame per dodici milia ducati doro de Camera de intrata singulis annis in Cipta, terre, castella, boni, con focoleri et sale, pro se, heredibus et successoribus suis inperpetuum, cum

mero et misto imperio et gladii potestate, et cum eisdem gratiis, privilegiis et indultis ad succedendum etc. secondo fu promesso al prefato don Joffredo : le quale cipta et terre serrano le infrascripte cioe, Tricharico, con titulo de principato, et Charinola, Lauria et Claromonte cum titulo de Contade, Pistitzo, Ursomarzo, La Saponara, La Rotonda, Circhiaro et Casalnovo con lor forteze, che faranno la summa de li dicti dodicimilia ducati doro de intrata ; Et senne spacciarano li privilegii et scripture necessarie in plenissima et valida forma, et cum consensu et ratificatione del Illmo Sre Duca de Calabria suo primogenito. Et senne darra la possessione ad homo o homini che mandara la Sta de nro. Sre in nome del Duca et de don Joffre predicti de tucte le supradicte cipta terre et forteze, de po che lo legato serra gionto in Napoli per coronare la prefata Mta, ante coronationem ; Et se non fusse tucto complitamente exequito, se continue et fornisca infra sei o octo di de po facta dicta coronatione, Et casu quo dicte cipta et terre non montasseno a la dicta summa de dodicimilia ducati doro de Camera se giungerano altera terre vicine a le terre predicte fino a la dicta summa.

Item la prefata Mta donara al predicto don Joffre uno de li sette officii del regno, et nello intitulara in lo di che sua Mta se coronara che serra el primo di de magio proximo futuro, Et se expediranno liberamente li privilegii necessarii et opportuni in forma ampla et consueta.

Item la prefata Mta e contenta donare et contribuire in la conducta del dicto Duca de Gandia per ducati trentatremilia ad rascionem de carlini decem pro ducato durante vita Smi dni. nri. La qual conducta cominciara el primo di de magio proximo futuro, donandogli la imprestanza ut moris est ; Et chel dicto Duca sia tenuto servire la Mta del Sre Re per la dicta summa per se vel alium quem mictet cum dictis gentibus durante vita Smi dni, nri. et post ejus obitum per unum annum, Et la Mta predicta se obliga de pagarli el dicto soldo de trentatremilia ducati singulis annis toto tempore sue Stis et per annum post mortem Sue Stis ; Et cosi dicto Duca tenera ducento homini darme, quaranta balestreri ad cavallo et quaranta provisionati ad servitio de Sua Mta restando pero ferma la conducta de dicto don Joffre secondo fu per capituli stipulata, Et la Sta de Nro Sre farra el dicto Duca Capitaneo generale de la

sa. ro. chiesa, El quale pagara et havera cura et governo de tucte gente darme de la Chiesa, al quale donara singulis annis Sexanta septe milia ducati ad decem carlini per ducato per stipendio suo et per pagare dicte gente darme.

Item la prefata S^ta^ farra et promecte fare alla M^ta^ predicta la remissione de li censi vita ipsius Regis durante, Et de le cinquantamilia marche sterlinghi in la investitura promesse, reducendose la cosa al Parafredo, secondo se redusse et fece al Re Fernando suo padre de felice memoria, Et senne debia expedire de continente la Bolla in ampla forma simile a la Bolla de Sixto IIII, signata de mano de Sua Beat^ne^ et de la magior parte de li Cardinali La qual bulla se tenera secreta per bon respecto et se debra dare et assignare in poter del dicto S^re^ Virginio, salvis tamen remanentibus omnibus aliis in bulla investiture fe. re. Pii ppe. II contentis, ad quorum omnium observantiam et complementum idem dnus. Rex se expresse et solemniter obligat, sicut in dicta remissione Sixti continetur. Et la prefata S^ta^ farra che la dicta bolla per tucto magio proximo da venire serra expedita in concistorio con le solemnita solite. Et vice versa la prefata M^ta^ del S^re^ Re sia obligata mandare el mandato et altre scripture necessarie et oportune, secondo forono in la expeditione de la remissione de pp. Sixto predicto.

Similmente la prefata S^ta^ promecte mandare alla M^ta^ predicta lo vexillo consueto et reservato in la investitura per homo idoneo, Et mandara uno R^mo^ Car^le^ Legato ad ungere et coronare la M^ta^ predicta El quale Legato et homo con vexillo serrano in Napoli ad questo effecto in lo mese de aprile proximo futuro in modo che la coronare se possa fare el primo di de magio proximo da venire.

Item, Che in questi tractati et assettamenti se intenda et includa lo acconcio del R^mo^ cardinale de San Piero ad Vincula, Et dicta S^ta^ da mo li fa piena reintegratione et lo restituisce in pristinum ad tucte le cose sue, con conservatione de indulti ecclesiastici bolle et brevi et cose allui concesse per la prefata S^ta^ et confirmatione de le gratie allui concesse per li altri pontifici. La qual S^ta^ lo habia ad havere in sua bona gratia et tractarlo honorevolmente da bon Car^le^, et pigliarlo in sua protectione, servendo lui etiam fidelmente alla sua beat^ne^ et alla Chiesa, ut bonum cardinalem decet, et non invocare cosa alcuna ne allui

ne al Prefecto, suofratello, ne in Stato ne in le persone : Et senne expedirano le scripture necessarie ad ogni requisitione del dicto Carle, o de altrui per sua parte, venendo Sua Sria personalmente in Roma.

Item, che occorrendo caso de vacatione o devolutione de alcuno stato de vicariato in terris ecclesie pertinente legitimamente alla Sca. Sede aplica. La prefata Mta promecte et se obliga favorire et adiutare con le gentidarme sue et ancho con lo stato ad effecto che dicta Sta lo habia ad consequire realmente et effectualiter fino a la totale adeptione et assecutione desso.

Item, che volendo la Sta de nro. Sre castigare et punire qualche suo vassallo, subdito, cipta o terra che se rebellasse da mo in anzi, et li fusse inobediente, la Mta del Sre Re lo adiutara con le arme et Stato effectualiter usque ad finem castigationis.

Et per la observantia de le cose supradicte et cautela de le parti de li supra scripti capitoli se farrano publici instrumenti, extendendo le clausule necessarie non mutando la substantia de la verita.

Que omnia et singula supra et infrascripta et in supradictis capitulis contenta et expressa conventa et promissa prout jacent Sanctissimus Dns. nr. ac Ill. dns. Virginius, Dominus Antonius Loisius de paladinis et Loisius de Casalinovo, regii procuratores predicti nominibus quibus supra videlicet sue Stis prefatorumque dominorum Johannis et Juffredi, ac prefati Sermi dni. Regis Alfonsi et pro eorum heredibus et successoribus invicem videlicet una pars alteri et nobis notariis infra scriptis et publicis personis pro dictis partibus, ac omnibus aliis quorum interest, intererit aut interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum presentibus et stipulantibus attendere et observare ac effectualiter et inviolabiliter adimplere et in nullo contrafacere vel venire per se vel alium seu alios aliqua ratione, occasione vel causa, de jure vel de facto, tacite vell expresse, publice vel occulte, respective prout ad quamlibet ipsarum partium spectat et pertinet, promiserunt, sub pena et ad penam quatringentorum milium duc. auri de camera per partem contrafacientem eo ipso incurrendam et commictendam et ab ea exigendam, ac parti observanti applicandam ; que pena totiens commictatur et exigi possit quotiens in premissis vel aliquo premissorum fuerit per aliquam partium contraventum, et qua pena soluta vel non,

commissa vel non, exacta vel non, premissa omnia et singula rata sint et firma perdurent. Pro quibus omnibus et singulis, sic ut premittitur, attendendis implendis et observandis supradictus Sanctmus dnus. nr. sua, prefati vero procuratores supradicti Sermi domini Regis eorum principalis bona omnia mobilia et immobilia presentia et futura ubique consistentia ac status obligarunt et apothecarunt, Renuntiantes partes predicte et ipsarum quelibet exceptioni non sic celebrati contractus, non sic factarum obligationum promissionum et conventionum, rei non sic vel aliter geste, exceptioni doli mali, metus, conditioni videbitur sine causa vel ob turpem causam, Et generaliter omnibus aliis et singulis exceptionibus tam juris quam facti, ac omni legum auxilio eis et cuilibet eorum adversus premissa et quodlibet premissorum competentibus et competituris. Et pro majori premissorum omnium robore et firmitate Sanctmus dnus. nr. in verbo Pontificis, supradicti vero procuratores ejusdem Sermi domini Regis Alfonsi ad sancta Dei Evangelia corporaliter manu tactis scripturis in animam constituentis juraverunt predicta omnia vera esse et ea attendere et observare ut supra sub pena et obligatione predictis et pena perjurii. De et super quibus omnibus et singulis mandarunt et rogarunt per nos notarios infrascriptos instrumentum et instrumenta unum vel plura conformia ad futuram rei memoriam.

Et ego Stephanus quondam Alexandri civis Narnien. publicus... notarius etc.

Et ego Sanctes Victorinus de Turrio civis Romanus publicus... notarius etc.

Archiv. Castri S. Angeli, Armar. 2, caps. 5, n. 39. gg.
(An original copy on parchment.)

DOCUMENT 155.

List of the Pontiff's Condottieri, whom we noticed receiving their pay at the end of the year 1494.

Nicholas de Ursinis, Count of Pitigliano, being Captain General of the Army (Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1492-1494, f° 90v°).

Julii 21	Aurelius de Ubaldis received	flor.	62.36
» 24	Johannes Jordanus Ursinus,	fl.	625
» »	Sancius Biscainus et Petrus Alama,	fl.	250
» »	Bernardus Tomacellus,		291.48
» 26	Camillus de Liazaris,		45
» 28	Bernardus Villamarinus,	fl.	1041
Aug. 1	Bartolomeus Serra,	fl.	325.53
» »	Morellus de Cornara,	fl.	83.24
» 4	Mg. d. Plumbini,	fl.	1450
» »	Marianus Sabellus,	fl.	750
» »	Ursinus de Ursinis,	fl.	350
» 5	Angelus de farnesio,	fl.	562.36
» 8	Pompeius de Oddis,	fl.	800
» 13	Mag^{cus} d. Gisbertus de Corrigio,	fl.	750
» »	dns. Franciscus Colonna,	fl.	208.24
Aug. 30	Petrus de Lucignano, Simon de Bergamo et Pacificus de Viterbio,	fl.	562.36
» »	Galeatius de Coregio,	fl.	250
Sept. 1	Jo. Bischainus,	fl.	187.36
» 6	Guill. Raymundus (de Borgia),	fl.	456.45
» »	Prolame,	fl.	187.36
» 14	Franciscus Zappeta,	fl.	93.54

» 15 Solvit dns. thesaurarius florenorum de Camera duo milia novemgentos viginti quinque Tresdecim comestabilibus pro eorum provisione pro Lta paghis unius mensis cum dimidio, incipiendo die XX presentis, videlicet florenos similes duecentos viginti quinque pro qualibet, videlicet :

Michaeli de Bononia,
Petro Albanese,
Maso de Cesena,
Jeronimo de Alexandria,
dominico Riecio,
Jacobo de Pergamo,
Milio de Cesena,
Lucido de Lando Flores,
Cetto de Sauli,
Jacobo Corso,
Paulo de Basilo,

Didaco de Cosunediano.

Sept.	15	Another for the same 20th,	fl. 281.18
»	18	Gabriel de Pergamo,	fl. 72
»	22	Bernardinus Thomacellus,	72.66
»	24	Petrus de Bergamo,	fl. 37.36
»	»	Jo. Bapt. de Comitibus,	fl. 1500
»	»	Galeoctus Corso,	fl. 176
»	»	Steph. Corso,	fl. 88
»	25	Guill. Gayetanus,	fl. 750
Oct.	1	Franciscus de pau,	fl. 1056.55
»	6	Ill. dns. dux Urbini,	fl. 2083.29
»	7	dns. civitatis pensaurien.,	fl. 1729.12
»	»	Virginius de Ursinis,	fl. 5400
»	»	Perus de Interamne,	fl. 375
»	»	Domenicus de Auria,	fl. 312.36 & 250
»	»	Marius de Asellinis,	fl. 270.60
»	»	Jacobus de Sta Cruce,	fl. 270.60
»	»	Marianus Stephani francisci,	fl. 270.60
»	»	Stephanus de Bubalis,	fl. 270.60
»	»	Rodericus Borgia,	fl. 154
»	»	Paulatius,	fl. 145
»	»	Petrus Sclavus,	fl. 161.33
»	15	Alama Ispanus,	fl. 187.36
»	»	Sancius Ispanus,	fl. 224
»	21	Franciscus Cardadora,	fl. 125
»	22	Joannes Martinus,	fl. 187.36
»	27	Joannes Baptista Conuta,	fl. 104 bol. 12
Nov.	17	Antonius de Spoleto, cum 90 peditibus,	fl. 337.36
»	»	Moriconus de Spoleto,	fl. 337.36
»	»	Caethanus Ispanus,	fl. 450
»	»	Alanus Comestabilis,	fl. 187.36
»	»	Petrus Solanus, cum 23 balistariis,	fl. 185.30
»	»	Paulatius, cum 22 bal., uno mense,	fl. 168.54
»	»	Carloctus,	fl. 75
»	»	Simon de Pergamo,	fl. 187.36
»	18	Montus Ispanus,	fl. 93.54
»	»	Petrus Salma,	fl. 87.36
»	»	Petrus Rola,	93.54
»	»	Moralis Ispanus,	187.36

Nov. 18	Franciscus de Bolognia,		187.36
» »	Marinus Angelus de Calderola,		112.36
» »	Jo. Sanctius biscaynus,	fl.	187.36
» »	Christophorus Albanensis,	fl.	187.36
Dec. 17	Marius Salamonis,	fl.	321.33
» »	Melchior de fabrica,	fl.	187.36
» 24	Martinus de Ura et Johannes de Orne.	fl.	187.36

Arch. Secret. Vaticano, Introitus et Exitus, vol. 526, 527. At the dates.

DOCUMENT 156.

Instructions of the envoys of pope Alexander VI to king Louis XII.

... De praefecto urbis si mentionem fecerit significabitis Maestati suae quod praefectus non solum rapinam publicam in terris nostris contra nuntios nostros, quos in carcerem conclusit et contra Legatum Turcarum Principis commisit, illi quadraginta millia florenorum auri pro expensis fratris quem apud nos magna cum impensa custodiri faciebamus, et alias pecuniarum et bonorum magni valoris quantitates auferendo, verum etiam copias nostras ac Bartholomeum Serram, illarum ductorem et sanguine nobis coniunctum, per terras nostras iter facientes invadendo, spoliando et captivos detinendo, se in defectionem manifeste constituit ; et quod magis moleste tulimus, falsis machinationibus famam nostram maculare conatus est, contra nos fingens quod cum Turcis sentiremus. Cum igitur per sententiam camerae apostolicae iuxta merita excessuum suorum excommunicatus fuerit ac praefecturae dignitate foeudis et aliis bonis privatis extiterit, Nolit Maestas sua, cum hic de honore nostro agatur, eidem Praefecto favere, nos enim itidem contra rebelles et hostes Maestatis suae facere parati erimus, et a pii patris officio erga Maestatem suam et suos nullo unquam tempore cessabimus. Potest namque Maestas sua intelligere a consiliariis Maestatis ipsius Caroli Regis, quod ipse Carolus, cum hic personaliter adesset, promisit per pauca scripta restitui nobis se curaturum per dictum Praefectum illa quadra-

ginta millia ducatorum, quae tamen postea nunquam fuere soluta.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., " Instructiones Diversae, " Cod. XXXII. 30. f° 134 — In fine ; " Politicorum Varia, " VII, p. 610 ; Bibl. Vatic. Ottoboniana. Cod. 2726, f° 193.

DOCUMENT 157.

The duke of Calabria offers to the Pope an asylum in the kingdom of Naples.

Noi don ferrando de Aragona Duca de Calabria regio primogenito et vicario generale etc. Promectemo al Sanctmo et beatmo in christo patre et Sre nro. Segnore Alexandro per la divina providentia papa VI inviolabiliter observare le cose infrascripte quale promictimo ad Sua Sta per nome et parte del Sermo Sre Segnor don Alfonso de Aragona per la gra. divina Re de Sicilia hyerlem. etc. Sre et patre nro. colmo et nra., et la prefata Maesta ratificara et approbara infra termino de di dece et farra con effectu observare vz :

In primis volendo la Santita prefata per la invasione facta a le terre de la Sancta Ecclesia per Re de franza evitare et fugere la ira et impetu del prefato Re in lo regno del prefato Segnore Re nro. patre, li promictimo che sempre possa Sua Sanctita intrare, demorare et exire liberamente senza damnificare ne impedire, ma cum la persona et statu servire et adiutare Sua Sanctita lo Sacro Collegio de Rmi cardinali hofficiali cortesani et tucte altre cose de Sua Sanctita et precipue le persone de li Rmi cardinali vicecancellario et Sanserverino de lo Ill. Prospero Colomna et de lo Illmo Zem Soltano fratre del gran Turco et tucti altri presoni de li quali se ne habia ad fare liberamente la volunta de la prefata Sanctita, ante la Sua Sanctita et ciascuno de prenominati sempre sarano securi et senza timore de damnificatione alcuna, offrendo in questo ultra la promessa dela prefata Maesta et nostra per maiore securita de Sua Sanctita la promessa del magco et religioso don Grassia lasso dela Vega oratore deli Sermi et Illmi Sri Re et Regina de Castiglia : placet.

Item promettemo nomine quo supra in nullo tempore abandonare la prefata Sanctita, ante per sua defensione exponere le forze del prefato S. Re et nostre, et che la prefata M^ta^ non possa pigliare accordio ne con re de franza ne con altri potentati in le cose de sua Maesta se prima no stabilisce et acconcia le cose de la prefata Sanctita et cum ejus expresso consensu. Et versa vice la prefata Sanctita promette a la Maesta predicta et ad noi de non abandonare la prefata Maesta et noi, ante essere in nostro adiuto et favore in questa impressa et che no pigliara accordio con Re de franza senza consensu dela prefata Maesta et nostro. Et ulterius promettemo nomine quo supra che Roma et tucte altre citta terre castelle con lore fortellicze quale Sua Sanctita perdesse per causa dela presente impresa la Maesta del Segnore Re prefata et noi con tucto el suo et nostro possibile potere et faculta le recuperara a la prefata Sanctita et reintegrarali ad sua Beatitudine et ad Sancta ecclesia : placet.

Item promittemo nomine quo supra donare ad Sua Sanctita quolibet anno per la vita et sustentatione sua finche sara nel regno durante queste necessita ducati cinquanto milia de oro de camera comenzando dal di intra nel regno, et dare ad sua beatitudine per la vita et spesa del prefato Zem ducatorum decemilia auri de camera pagandoli da doi in doi mesi overo mese per mese pro rata come parera ad Sua Sanctita. placet.

Item promittimo nomine quo supra attento la prefata havé da menare con se Zem Sultan fratre del gran Turcho per securita del prefato Zem dessignare el castello de Caieta in potere del Ex^mo^ Segnore cardinale de Valentia el quale tenera in nome de sua beatitudine finche el prefato Zem sara nel ditto castello. Et dal prefato Cardinale la Maesta del Segnore Re nostro patre et noi habia de recepere iuramento et fede homagii de tenere a la fedelita de sua Maesta dicto castello et nullo tempore deviare da quella intendendose tucta via tenerlo ala obedientia de nostro Segnore per la conservatione del turcho, servata sempre la fedelita ala prefata Maesta. Et in casu che la Sanctita sua, quod absit, havera finiti soi di felici overo che se partesse dal regno, overo chel prefato Zem moresse o se partesse, la prefata Sanctita et Ex^mo^ cardinale de Valentia jurara et promectera rendere el dicto castello in potere dela Maesta del Segnore Re nostro patre, o nostro, o

de altri legitimi procuratori dela prefata Maesta o nostri. Verum che morendo Sua Sanctita, el dicto R^mo cardinale de Valentia habia da tenere dicto castello fine intanto sia creato el novo Pontifice al quale el dicto Cardinale consignara el prefato Zem turcho, el castello a la prefata Maesta et soi heredi. placet.

Item per megliore guardia et custodia del dicto Turcho et anche per che lo dicto Cardinale de Valentia in la citta de Caieta sia obedito et reverito la prefata Maesta sara contenta chel dicto Cardinale de Valentia in nome de sua Maesta governe et sia locumtenente in la prefatta citta de la dicta Maesta fandoli dare plena obedientia. placet.

Item la prefata Sanctita insieme con lo prefato R^mo cardinale de Valentia promette a la Maesta del Segnore Re nostro patre et ad noi tenere lo prefato castello de Caieta a la fidelita de sua Maesta et nostra, come de supra e dicto, et quando se deviasse per lo castellano da tenerese per la dicta Sanctita et cardinale de Valentia, dal quale castellano recepera la Maesta del Segnore Re et noi fede homagii in la maniera supradicta, in quello casu possa la Maesta prefata et noi deviando come se dice de supra, recurrere supra la dicta persona del dicto R^mo Segnore cardinale de Valentia. placet.

Item che la prefata Sanctita et R^mo cardinale de Valentia habiano da stare in Napoli o in Capua o in Aversa overo in altra citta et loco de la prefata Maesta che paresse megliore per Sua Sanctita mentre li piacera stare nel regno. placet.

Item promettemo che la Maesta del Segnore Re pagara al ditto cardinale de Valentia la provisione solita da dare al castellano del predicto castello de Caieta, et le altre spese et guardie si per lo turcho como per maiore guardia del castello le habia ad fare Sua Sanctita. placet (The words " placet " and the following paragraph are from the hand of the duke of Calabria).

Et per observantia de tucte et singule cose de supra contenute io don ferrando de Aragonia Duche de Calabria et cet. me sono soptoscripto de mia propria mano iurando a sancti dey evangelii che se observara tucto el sopradecto et per magiore securita de Sua Sanctita promectimo in termine de dudeci di la Maesta del Segnore Re nostro patre rectificara

et approvarra. In roma adi vinticinco de decembro 1495 ferdus: (The following is written by the Spanish ambassador).

Yo Garcialasso de la Vega enbaxator del Rey y dela Reyna di Spaña Misseñores prometo che la Magestad del Señor Rey don alfonso y el Señor duche di calabria observara a la Santidad di nuestro Señor juxta di supra es contenydo y asi Io juro alos santos Evanglejos de my propria manu.

Archiv. Castelli S. Angeli, Arm. 2. Caps. 5, no 42, n n :
An original paper.

DOCUMENT 158.

Accord of pope Alexander VI with Charles VIII, on the 15th of January, 1495.

Sensuivent les articles de la paix faicte entre nre. Sainct pere le pape Alexandre Sisiesme et le roy Charles.

Et primo pource que led. S^t^ pere a cognu et veu le gran desir et devocion que led. Roy a envers led. Sainct pere et que les choses que led. Roy a faictes paravant ne les a point faictes pour porter preiudice ne nuyre aud. S^t^ pere mais quil la plus tost faict pour exaltacion de Saincte mer eglise Et parelljement considerant le Roy que le pape na point faict aucune chose par sidavant faiclt pour nuyre aucunement a sa maieste ne pour luy porter preiudice mais les a faictes par toute bonne consideracion et avisement de paix comme sensuit.

Cest assavojr que nre St pere sera bon pere et protecteur du Roy et le Roy luy sera bon fis dobeysance avecques devocion acostumee. Et si paravant led. St pere heust entrepris ou faict aucune chose envers le Roy ou le Roy envers et contre sad. Sainctete le remettent lun a lautre sens en pouoyr james demander lun a lautre aucune chose.

Item est content led. St pere que monss^r^ le cardinal de Valence voyse avecques le Roy pour lacompanher avecques son estat honnorable et acostume. Et le Roy le recevra et le tractera honorablement et humainement einsi comme a loy apartient et celon sa dignite avecques ce que led. S^r^ cardinal doye demorer avecques le Roy par lespace de quatre moys ou

plus ou moins einsi comme par led. St pere et le Roy sera conclus et advise.

Item de consentement de touts lessrs cardinals led. sainct pere balljera le Turc aus meins du Roy pour le mettre et garder au chasteau de Terracina ou en aultre chasteau et plasse aus terres de lesglise comme sera ordonne entre le pape et le Roy pur la surte dud. Roy et pour garder que le turch nentre en Italie. Oultre ce promet le Roy et sen oblige de ne le transporter de lad. plasse si non quil fut besoing pour empescher la venue des aultres turcs ou pour leur fere guerre Toutesfois si le Roy veoit quil fut de besoing pour la surte de la persone dud. turc comme acause de maladie ou aultre cause rajsonable pour laquelle il fut de besoing de le transporter alljeurs lors porroit estre remue en une des aultres terres et plasses de lesglise qui seront entre les mains du Roy ou aultres terres de lesglise comme plus a plein sera advise entre le pape et le Roy.

Item avant que le Roy parte dytalia pour torner en france Il luy rendra le turch por le garder einsi comme ce contient en une bulle du pape Innocent.

Item en cas que le frere dud. turch volsit fere guerre aud. St pere en la marche dancone ou aultre part que le Roy soit tenu et le doye deffendre.

Item le Roy promet que monssr le cardinal gran mestre de Rodes ratifiera dedans VI moys les articles dessusd. qui font mention du Turc.

Item pour surte du frere dud. turc le Roy donra pour pleges toutz les princes et barons et prelatz qui sont de present en sa companhie les quielz se obligeront a la somme de sincsens mille ducas par une foys payes au pape ou a la chambre aplique.

Item touchant le tribut que le Turc a costume de payer a nre St pere de xl mille ducas le Roy entend que led. Tribut vienge entre les mains du pape come est accostume. Et si donra le Roy banc respondent a Rome que lesd. xl mille ducas seront payes au pape comme est acostume.

Item le pape donra civita Vechia au Roj pour la tenir en ce voyage poure fere venyr gens et victuallie et aultres choses qui a luy seront necessayres laquelle terre de civita vequia le Roy promet la rendre et retorner aud. St pere au retour de son

voyage ou a son successeur Et luy promet donner lettres sur ce scelles de son seau propre Et des meintenent donnera ordre au capine quil commettra a la garde de lad. terre de fere serment aud. St pere de fere einsi comme dessus est dit et le descharger de la garde de lad. terre Le Roy nentend de tocher pour rien aus rentes de yustice desd. terres de lesglise mes les lessera entierement a nred. St pere le pape.

Item le Roy entend que toutz marchans et victailljes dou quelles viengent porront venir et sugiorner passer et repasser tant par lad. terre de civita vequia Ostia que aultres lieus de lesglise si non que fut marchandie du Royaulme de Naples et victoalljes les quielles seront tenues de prendre saultconduyct du pape pour les porter en Rome ou en aultres terres de lesglise avecques ce quelles ne soyent armees et etiam ne doyent offendre les gens du Roy ne a son armee Et aussy ne doyent tracter ne fere chose preiudiciable a lad armee du Roy.

Item le pape donra au Roy et a son armee surte de passage et victuaglies par totes les terres de lesglise tant aus allans venans que surgionans et passans par lesd. lieus en payant les. victoglies raysonablement.

Item la ou sera le Roy en persone les chasteaus et roques luy seront overtes pour loger sa persone selon luy semblera Excepte le Chasteau Sainct Ange Et par toutz les lieutz dessusd. le Roy ses gens et son armee seront assures comme aus propres lieus du Royaume de france promectant quil fera tracter benignement les subgetz dud. St pere.

Item les lieus terres et pays de lesglise seront rendues aud. St. pere dedans XII jours cest assavoyr dicelles qui sont en la terre de lesglise et qui sont de Sa Ste et qu'il possedoit par avant exceptes les terres que sont de ses ennemys et qui a present tient la part contrere du Roy et qui donnent ayde et secors au Roy alfonse.

Item quant a Ostia le Roy la rendra en mains de monssr le cardinal S. P. advinla de qui il la tjent et laquielle il dit a luy apartenyr achevee que soit lemprise du Roy.

It. quant a civita vequia et des aultres terres et roches que le pape donra au Roy pour sa surte elles demmoront en mains du Roy comme ce contient aus articles qui dicelles font mencion.

Item le pape pardonnera a toutz ceulx qui ont donne aucunes de leurs terres et qui ont servy le Roy comme est aquapendent

monteflascon bolsena viterbe et aultres terres et quil ne lur donra aucune moleste ne en lur estat ou offices ne aultrement ne en quelque fasson que ce soit.

Item le pape sera content de restituyr toutz lessrs cardinals amics et serviteurs du Roy en toutz leurs privileges tiltres dignites offices benefices terres graces et delictz, non obstant toutes choses malfaictes par le passe tant que en fasson du monde ne puyssent estre molestes et heus luy promettent destre dores en avant bons lealz et obeyssans come doyvent fere bons cardinalz.

Item le pape remettra et pardonera totes les offenses qui ly ont ou peues estre faictes par les SSrs barons colonnes savelleschz vitell hieronimo totavilla et aultres suggetz de sa Sainctete Et les remettra en toutes leurs terres biens et offices Et parelljement le Roy pardonnera aus Srs Orsins Jacobo Conti et aultres des contes et barons toutes offenses passees quilz ont faict contre luy Excepte largent quil a pris du Roy Et en ces chapitres ne ce contient le debat que ont les S. colonnes avecques Jacomo Conte.

Item le pape sera content quil ly aye aultre governeur que celuy quest de present en la forteresse de cesena et le pape y mettra le prelat que le Roy volra nommer et a luy soit agreable.

Item le pape mettra ung prelat lieutenant delegat en la marche dancone tiel que le Roy vouldra nommer.

Item le pape mettra ung prelat lieutenant delegat du patrimoyne tiel que le Roy vouldra nommer.

Item le pape mettra ung cardinal qui soit amy du Roy pour legat en la campagne maritime durant lemprise du Roy Et a present pour complayre au Roy il deputera legat le Sgr cardinal Columpne.

Item pour ce que le Roy a receu et pris en sa protection le Sgr prefect de Rome che le pape ne ly soit contre son estat en quelque fasson que soit ne pour chose quil aye faict contre sa Sainctete par le passe ne contre ses gens. Ne parelljement led St pere fara contre aulcunes gens soyent ecclesiastiques ou seculiers ne a princes ne conti ne contre aultres gens de quelque estat que soyent lesquels seront des gens ou soldoyes dud. Sgr prefect qui heussent servy le Roy contre le commandement dud. St. pere ou aultrement eussent donne ayde ou vittuaglie, cest assavoir etiam a toutz ceulx soit pardonne specialement et

aus aultres universalement les quielz le Roy des meintenent recoit en sa singuliere protection et sauvegarde.

Item quant a ce qui touche les XL mille ducas que le pape demande au Sgr prefect et aultres robes et prisonyes quil dit avoit prins, le Roy prend la difference en ses mains pour diffinir la en quatre moys.

Item monsgr. le cardinal Sancti p. ad vinla sera entierement restitue en la legacion davinhon et a totes aultres choses comme est a chasteaus roches lieus et segnhoryes libertes privileges offices graces et delictz en telle fasson comme estoy par premyer et luy avoit este concede tant par led St pere comme par ses predecesseurs et ne plus ne moins comme par avant les tenoit et possedoit Et comme si besoing estoit les luy ottroyer de nouveau ou confermer Et quil ne luy en puysse fere destorbe en fasson que soit.

Item quant a monsgr le cardinal de gursa le pape somera les Sgrs cardinals quil soit paye de son chapeau tant absent comme present et luy confermera en consistoire la reservacion et provision che luy a faicte de levesche de Mes Et de besanson.

Item restituera le cardinal de Savello en sa legacion du ducat de Spolet comme estoit paravant.

It. quant a ce toche aus Sgrs Colonnoys Savelles Vitelles et Jeronimo totaville et aultres barons amis du Roy lesquiels ont servy led Roy le pape les restituera en toutz leurs statz biens et offices quiels qui soyent tout einsi comme estiont parpremier.

Item le pape sera content restituer et quitter les SSrs cardinals qui ly demanderont ou feront demander de lobligacion quils ont faict par laquielle ilz se sont obliges de non se partir de Rome sens volunte et licence dud. St pere et aussi de non sen aler de Rome sans license comme est contenu en lad. bulla (This repetition is replaced in the copy given in Burchard, Diar. T. II., p. 665, by " et aussi de l'obligation de le suivre s'il partoit de Rome et de tout le contenu en ladite bulle. ") mes porrount aler ou demorer ou lur semblera bon, sens que le pape lur aye a dyre quilz viennent contre sa volunte.

Item le Roy donra a son partement la cite de Roma au pape et les cleffz de pontz et portes dicelle lesquielz Sa Ste avoit donne au Roy.

Item le Roy ne demandera ren au chasteau Sainct Angel ne ne fara aucune requeste ou provision sur ce pape.

It. le Roy donnera lobeyssance au pape personalement avant son partement de Rome et fera toutes les choses dessusd. et accordees.

It. promettra le Roy de non offendre le pape ne en temporel ne en spirituel mes le deffendra et aydera contre toutz ceulx qui voldrjont occuper les biens de lesglise.

Et parelljement nre Sainct pere donnera surte de luy et des S^rs^ cardinals et du peuple de Rome que tant quilz pourront se garderont doffendre le Roy ne fere contre sa companhie et quilz ne souffrjront ne permettront quil luy soit faict aucun ottrage en aucune maniere que soit ne demanderont ayde ne faveur a ses ennemys ne dargent ne gensdarmes ne en aultre fasson quil le soit.

Et quant au tractament des articles du conclave (?) nre S^t^ pere sera content de remettre ceste matiere a la volunte de Sa S^te^ et du Roy et comme par eux sera ordonne. Datum Rome XV Januarii 1495.

Alexander papa VI. manu propria

B. flondus.

Paris, Archives Nationales K. 76 no. 1.

The Document was also published by Molini, Documenti di Storia Italiana, Vol. I., p. 22. Its contents are given by Lünig, Codex Italiae Diplomaticus, T. II., col. 795 ; and can be found in Paris, Bibl. Nation., Cod. 2918, f° 1.

DOCUMENT 159.

Sickness and death of the Turkish prince Zizim.

In questo zorno di XXV Fevrer acadete cosa in Napoli molto acerba, ut ita dicam, a tutta la christianita : che Giem sultan, fratello dil gran Turco, el qual questo Re tolse dal Pontifice et lo menò con lui, et in camino avanti el Re intrasse in Capua si amalò, fo divulgato da cataro, el qual li era disceso in uno ochio et nel stomego, o vero fusse reuma, tamen intrò in Capua, et stava sempre apresso del Re. Et pur crescendoli el mal, fu portato in bara in Aversa, poi in Napoli, dove li medici li feno molte provisione, cavando sangue et altri rimedii, et alquanto

migliorò. Pur la febbre li cressete, onde non volle provisione alcuna che, ita volente fato, in questa matina expirò, fermo e costante ne la fede soa. La qual morte fo grandissimo danno si al Re di Franza quam a tutta Italia et maxime al Pontifice ; che la privò de ducati 40 milia d'oro haveva ogni anno da suo fratello, per caxon havesse custodia de lui... Et el Re di questa morte dimostrò haver gran dolor, et sospettavano el Pontifice non ge l'havesse dato attossicato a termene : la qual cosa non erat credendum, perche sarebbe stato suo danno. Or come si fusse, morite ; et fu poi in deposito mandato a Gaeta. Questo, mentre era in camino, era custodito da 1000 franzesi et altre generatione ; havia con lui turchi che lo serviva, et havea libertà de andar per el campo a suo piacer.

Sanudo, La Spedizione di Carlo VIII, p. 243, ap. Burchard, Diar. T. II, p. 243, n.

DOCUMENT 160.

Aim and articles of the Holy League.

In nomine Sancte et Individue trinitatis patris et filii et Sps. Sci. et gloriosissime Virginis Marie et totius curie triumphantis, anno a nativitate dni. Millesimo quadringentesimo Nonagesimo quinto, Indictione XIII. Die vero ultimo ms. Martii, Sanctissimus et Beatissimus Dnus. nr. Dnus. Alexander...

Ad finem pacis et pro quiete Italie Saluteque totius christane religionis, pro conservanda dignitate et auctoritate aplice. Sedis : pro Sacri Romani Imperii juribus tuendis, proque defensione et conservatione communium Statuum partium predictarum.

...Contrahunt... et ligam duraturam usque ad annos viginti-quinque et ultra usque ad illud totum tempus quod ipsis partibus placitum fuerit. Ad mutuam, ut dictum est, conservationem statuum partium predictarum et uniuscuiusque earum, contra omnes et quoscumque quiqui illi fuerint Dominos et potentatus in Italia impresentiarum Statum habentes et tenentes : etiam si durante liga Statum habere in Italia deficiunt : qui de cetero non provocati et non lacessiti offenderent per se vel alium partes predictas vel ipsarum aliquam.

Item concutiunt quod toto tempore dicte confederationis et lige Sanctissimus dominus nr. tenere et habere debeat equites quatuormille et pedites duo mille et quilebet prefatorum Serenissimorum Dominorum Regum et Illustrissimorum Dominorum Ducum equites octo mille et pedites quatuor mille bonarum gentium armigerarum; cum quibus invicem et mutuo se juvare et succurrere debeant propriis impensis cujuslibet dictarum partium In hunc modum videlicet : Si aliqua partium contrahentium offenderetur ut supra, teneantur alie partes que cessarent a tali offensione aut mittere dictum numerum gentium sive earum partem, pro rei exigentia, suis sumptibus ut dictum est, in auxilium et succursum partis offense, si ita locus offensionis postulaverit, aut ipsas gentes exercere contra offendentem et ipsius statum, aut mittere loco eiusmodi copiarum parti offense de tempo in tempus pecunias infrascriptas ad rationem anni, juxta arbitrium et electionem partis auxiliantis videlicet : Sanctissimus Dnus, nr. ducatus triginta mille et quilibet predictorum Serenissimorum Dnorum. Regum et Illmorum Dnor. Ducum ducatos Sexaginta mille : que quidem summa unicuique specificata neque per accessum aliorum ad ligam neque per defectum alicujus ex liga diminui neque augeri possit. Et si casus necessitatis exigeret Auxilium maritimum triremium aut navium seu navigiorum ab aliqua partium, in eo casu defalcari debeat et excomputari ejusmodi impensa maritima in numero copiarum terrestrium aut pecuniarum.

Casu vero quo uno et eodem tempore plures ex partibus contrahentibus offenderentur, tunc debeant mitti auxilia ab aliis confederatis cessantibus ab offensione pro ratione ut est honestum, videlicet : Si duo offenderentur auxilia mittantur per dimidium ; si tres, per tercium ; si quatuor, per quartum : et teneantur quilibet suprascriptorum contrahentium qui ut supra offenderentur, gentibus missis iin ipsius auxilium, per sua loca et dominia, provideri facere de allogeamentis et commeatibus, solvendis tamen ab ipsis gentibus precio honesto et convenienti.

Verum ob vicinitatem et contingentiam Statuum Sanctissimi dni. nostri et Illustrissimorum Dominorum Venetiarum et Mediolani Ducum, convenerunt ipsi Sanctmus D. noster et Illustrissimi Dni. Duces, sive mandatarii sui eorum nomine, mutuis stipulationibus intervenientibus, ut si aliquis eorum offenderetur ut supra : teneantur alii duo non solum prestare auxilia offenso

juxta formam precedentis capituli, verum etiam auxiliari sibi invicem cum numero copiarum quas eorum quilibet habere et tenere est obligatus virtute hujus confederationis.

Item convenerunt quod prefatus Sanctissimus Dns. nr. preter auxilium dictarum copiarum, juvare quoque debeat confederatos suos cum armis spiritualibus iuxta rei exigentiam, et quomodo tamen de iure licuerit Sue Sanctitati.

Item si forte occurreret, quod deus avertat, quod ad bellum deveniretur, non possit quovismodo fieri pax nisi cum scientia sociorum et cum reservatione et sine preiudicio presentis confederationis et lige.

In casu autem quo offendens offenso pro offensione satisfactionem exhiberet, treguas et inducias peteret, a bello aut molestia desistere et se coram confederatis juri subjicere vellet, Teneatur tunc offensus acquiescere, et partes illas oblatas judicio et consilio Confederatorum acceptare et relinquere. Et si talis offensus nollet, possunt ceteri ex liga Auxilium in eo casu ab ipso offenso amovere, et pro eo bello de cetero denegare.

Item convenerunt quod aliqua pars predictarum, facta conclusione presentis lige, non possit ad aliquam intelligentiam seu ligam devenire cum aliqua potencia habente ut superius expressum est, in Italia statum, nisi de communi consensu et voluntate omnium partium, et nisi fuerit sine preiudicio et cum reservatione capitulorum presentis lige, quibus nullo pacto liceat derogari.

...Item convenerunt quod presens liga per Beatitudinem Pontificiam et Illustrissimos Duces prefatos soleniter publicari debeat die dominico palmarum, qui erit duodecimus mensis aprilis proxime futuri in terris et dominiis cujuslibet eorum, cum solemnitatibus et signis gaudii et leticie, ut est consuetum. Et hoc idem eodem die Servetur a Caesarea Maiestate si tempus et locus ita pacientur, sin minus in uno ex proximis diebus pascalibus. Serenissimi vero Reges hispanie faciant similiter publicationem post habitam noticiam in una ex festivitatibus proxime sequentibus ipsam noticiam a Maiestatibus suis habitam.

...Acta fuerunt hec in civitate Venetiarum in ducali palatio...

An authentic instrument of five notaries, on a parchment

quire, with lead seal of " Augustinus Barbadico Dei gra. Dux Venetiarum etc. "

Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch., Cod. K. K., 1495. 31 März. Oster.

DOCUMENT 161.

A letter of the Roman " Conservatores " to pope Alexander VI.

Beatissime Pater et Clementissime Domine, post pedum oscula beatorum humiliter commendati etc. Non miretur Vestra Sanctitas si ei antehac haud scripserimus : occupationes enim rerum, ante et post adventum regis Francorum providendarum continue nos detinuerunt. Omnia tamen que per Vestram Sanctitatem nobis mandata fuerunt summa cum diligentia, una cum Reverendissimis Dominis Legato et gubernatore vestro dignissimo communicavimus et expedivimus. Nam et ipsi regi oratores cives misimus, qui Sue Majèstati nuntiarent qualiter Vestra Sanctitas nobis in suo discessu expresse mandaverat, ut Suam Majestatem leto animo et honorificentissime reciperemus, et deinde pridie eundem ad domum visitavimus. Verum cum hoc mane, circa terciam diedi horam, ex Urbe cum omnibus suis discesserit, omnes Vestre Beatitudinis felicem redditum tanquam optimi domini et patris summo cum desiderio et hilaritate cupidi expectant. Quam ob rem eidem Vestre Beatitudini ex parte totius sui devotissimi et peculiaris populi Romani humiliter et devote ac ex toto corde supplicamus ut ad hanc suam Almam Urbem quam primum commode potuerit reddire dignetur. Quod nobis et toti vestro prefato Romano populo ac omnibus curialibus erit gratissimum ac perjocundum : et ad amplissimum decus perpetuamque gloriam Vestre Beatitudinis adscribetur, et nobis precipere velit que in posterum facere debeamus. Nam suis mandatis tanquam veri servuli et obedientissimi filii perpetuo ut tenemur obtemperantes erimus, nullis parcentes laboribus ac sudoribus prout hactemus effecimus pro felici statu Sanctitatis Vestre que feliciter valeat. Cui nos et hunc vestrum fidelem populum semper humiliter commendamus. Ex vestra Alma Urbe die tertia junii 1495.

E. Vestre Beatitudinis.

Fidelissimi servuli Conservatores Camere Vestre Alme Urbis (Ab extra :) Sanctissmo et clementissmo D. N. pape.

Archivo della Societa Romana di Storia Patria, vol. XI., p. 691, from the Codex Marcianus 174, Classe X. Lat., in Venice.

DOCUMENT 162.

An assertion of king Charles VIII contradicted.

On the 11th of August, 1495, Charles VIII wrote to the archbishop of Mainz, that the emperor Maximilian had been misinformed in regard to the object of his Italian expedition ; and said in part : Ecclesie autem terras iuraque et dominia, Christianissimorum progenitorum nostrorum vestigia sequentes, nullo pacto imminuere sed, quantum nobis possibile est, augere auctaque tueri in animo habuimus semper ac perpetuo habebimus, atque ad id practicandum nos, sepius ultroneos obtulimus ; neque ipsius urbes oppidave vi occupavimus unquam... [1]

A portion of the answer, given to that assertion of the French king by the Venitian senator, Ger. Donato, is as follows :... Igitur rediens, ira percitus, Tuscanellam, oppidum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, quod oppidani non ultro portas aperuissent, miserabiliter diripit maximam ejus populi partem crudeliter ferro obtruncat, nec aetati, nec sexui parcitur. Per caedes, rapinas, stupra raptusque miserrimarum virginum, non jam tantum in Regno Neapolitano, sed in ipso Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Patrimonio Gallicus furor saevit : Rex Christianissimus in Christianum gregem, in suburbanas Christiani Pastoris oves per caedem et scelera debaccatur.

(Ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I., t. VII. P. I. p. 450.)

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1. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- Staatsarchiv. Cod. K. K. f° 13 oi one foliation.

DOCUMENT 163.

Pope Alexander VI arraigns Charles VIII and threatens to excommunicate him.

Alexander pp. VI Carissimo in Chro. filio nro. Carolo francorum regi christianissimo. Carissime in Christo fili nr. Dum imperscrutabili providentia celestis consilii nos quamvis inmeritos ad suas in terris vices gerendum vocavit altissimus, sicuti beato Petro apostolorum principi eterne vite clavigero omnes atque omnia, nullo prorsus excepto, ligandi atque solvendi plenariam tribuit potestatem ; ita nos super gentes et regna constituens ut clamare non cessaremus et quasi tuba vocem nram. exaltaremus nobis in propheta mandavit. Audientes itaque superiori anno ingentes tuos in Italiam irrumpendi tum terra marique bellicos apparatus, ut regnum nrum. Sicilie citra farum ad Sacrosancte Roman. ecclie, cui auctore dno. presidemus superioritatem pertinens tibi vendicares, Celsitudinem tuam satis congruo tempore per lras. et nuncios paterne monuimus, rogavimus et obtestati fuimus in dno. ut ab hujusmodi gravissimo et christiane religioni perniciosissimo bello abstineres, viam tibi justicie offerentes si quam super regno predicto tibi competere putares, commemorantesque nephandissima mala et maxime ex truculentissimis fidei nre. hostibus turcis imminencia pericula que ex mutua gallie italieque virium contricione sequerentur, multaque alia in quibus nos tibi sincero corde vera salubriaque monita dedisse liquido jam cognoscere potuisti. Obaudisti tamen, fili carissime, et aures hujusmodi primis nostris monitis obdurasti. Venisti maximo cum exercitu Italiam, et Legatum de latere cardinalem audire aliosque nuncios a nobis ad te missos exaudire noluisti, multas ex nris. et ejusdem Romane ecclie. terris et arcibus per gentes tuas occupasti, Almam Urbem sacro apostolorum sanguine dedicatam armatis ingentibus copiis circumdedisti, adeo ut graviora detrimenta evitandi causa te unacum diversarum gencium et nationum belligera multitudine in Urbem summa annone penuria laborantem recipere compulsi, data per te nobis fide publica quod nichil a nobis peteres, Nos et Venerabiles fratres nostros Scte. Roman. ecclie. Cardinales curiales et populum Romanum in rebus et personis tutos et illesos conservares, ineffabile tamen

dictu est et miserandum auditu quot quanteque violencie cedes ruine incendia captivitates exactiones prede furta domorum effractiones extra urbem prius et in terris nostris et Sancte Ro. ecclie. perpetrate, in ipsa Urbe in foro Romano per gentes tuas te presente renovate fuerunt, tanto cum nostro et tocius urbis periculo ut personam nostram conservandi causa in arcem Sancti Angeli confugere coacti fuerimus, et cum multa horrenda contra nos machinamenta tractarentur, ut a gravioribus scandalis caveremus, Zisimium sultanum turchorum tiranni fratrem qui apud nos et hanc sanctam sedem prout conveniebat in tutissimum Christianorum servabatur presidium, duasque ex potioribus nostris et sancte Romane ecclesie arcibus Terracinen. scilicet et Civitevetule extorquenti tibi tradere, multaque alia grandia difficiliaque promittere coacti fuimus, que nemo prudens aut libera aut spontanea mente provenisse existimaret. Perdidit enim Christiana religio in Sultano predicto, qui in manibus tuis periit, optatum turcorum in christianos effrenatam rabiem comprimendi remedium, compluraque alia detrimenta passa est, que ut breviores simus consulto pretermittenda duximus. Discedens tandem ab Urbe cum exercitu tuo et versus prefatum nostrum et eiusdem S. Ro. ecc^{e} regnum Sicilie citra farum iter dirigens, nonnullos Campanie et Maritime nostrarum et scte. Ro. ecc^{e} predicte provinciarum terras et castra que per dilectos filios Jacobum de Comitibus et Honoratum Gaettanum Comitem Fondorum a nobis et hac Sancta Sede tenebantur in feudum hostiliter cum gentibus tuis armigeris invasisti et captas crudelissime habitas, sicut de nonnullis aliis castris ad superioritatem nostram pertinentibus antea feceras, alteri possidendas prout tibi libuit condonasti, nostram et hujus Sancte Sedis iurisdictionemque temere violando. Perrexisti deinde in regnum predictum et illud antiquo possessore, nostro et hujus Sancte Sedis feudatario, vi et armis expulso, violenter occupasti prout occupas de presenti. Et quamvis ubique terrarum etiam literatorie divulgasses te contra inhumanissimos turcos Christi inimicos transfretare et exercitum ducere velle Nosque tibi ad hoc laudabile opus et sanctum omnem opem et ipsam personam nostram obtulissemus, tu nichilominus tanto omnipotentis dei servitio protergato et posthabita dicta in turcos expeditione retrospiciens in galliam et in regnum tuum iter arripuisti. Te igitur innumerosissimo cum equitum peditumque exercitu ex

Neapoli discedente per nostras et Scte. Ro. eccᵉ terras iter faciente ita omnia etiam jussu nostro tibi tuisque patentia et necessaria subministranda cedibus rapinisque a gentibus tuis complebantur ut preteritorum exemplo, importuno tempore hanc beati petri sedem deserere non sine maximis incommodis atque periculis unacum sacro Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum S. R. e. cardinalium collegio ad tutiora loca nos transferre compulsi fuerimus. Non esset facultatis humane calamitates stragesque maximas atrocissimasque referre, que in oppidorum Montisfurtini et Montis sancti Johannis expugnatione et in Carette desolatione civitatisque nostre Tuscanelle invasione a gentibus tuis commissa sunt, tamen sine ulla iniuria innocens sanguis sit effusus, non etati neque sexui neque in ipso etiam domini sanctuario parcendo, quod neque ab ipsis barbaris factitatum audivimus. Gothi dum Urbem cepissent omnes quotquot ad sanctorum petri et pauli ecclesias confugissent salvos esse voluerunt, gentes tue que christianissimo vocabulo gloriantur christifidelium sacrosancta altaria et salvatoris nostri crucifixi sacras ymagines amplectencium misericordiamque vociferantium crudelissimis obtruncationibus fuso sanguine dei templa fedarunt, Virginumque et matronarum pudicitia prostituta. Tacemus incendia rapinasque rerum etiam divino cultui dedicatarum, innumerasque cedes etiam sedato militari furore extra ecclesiam perpetratas. Cum gravioribus commemoratis reliqua facile possunt coniecturari. Et quamvis alia ex parte Stipendiarii tui ad hoc destinati populos vexare et jurisdictionem nostram perturbare non desisterent, potuissemusque propter premissa et presertim pro parte regni nostri Sicilie citra farum antedictam occupationem, tuique arcis nostre Ostien. castellani victualium in Urbem deferendorum prohibitionem et impedimenta multaque alia enormia, Te duces militesque tuos in penas et censuras que in processibus qui per nos predecessoresque nostros summos pontifices contra talia perpetrantes in die Cene domini quotannis publicari consueverunt continentur, incidisse merito declarare, Siluimus tamen atque distulimus, tibi ob regalis dignitatis amplitudinem deferentes, ac sperantes te ut affirmaveras in galliam cum exercitu concessurum Italiam deinde facile pacatam iri. Sed aliter quam sperabamus evenit. Tu enim in Etruriam ingressus non solum sacri Romani imperii quod sub sancta Roman. tutela consistens speciali quodam vin-

culo protegere tenemur, tam in civitatibus Senensi Pisanaque quam multis aliis in locis jurisdictionem violasti, verumetiam nonnullis oppidis fedissime combustis, tentataque Genuensium defectione, sevissimum cruentissimumque cum Venetorum Mediolanensiumque sua tutencium gentibus conflictum inivisti, ex quo tam ingens hincinde hominum strages secuta est ut maxime formidandum sit ne, diminutis hoc modo mutua cede christianorum viribus, insurgant adversus nos religionemque nostram potenciores communes hostes, contemptaque christianorum virium tenuitate ipsam penitus ad hoc jamdudum anhelantes prosternant atque conculcent, quem casum ineffabilem cottidie magis extimescimus ex multis fidedignorum relationibus acceperimus te in finibus italie citra montes consedisse et accitis ex universa ferme gallia novis auxiliaribus copiis Italiam iterum invadere statuisti, quod ressistentibus Italis absque inaudita christiani cruoris effusione et extremo christiane rei publice excidio temptari non posse manifeste cognoscimus. Nos itaque super huius apostolici solii specula constituti ad evitandas sevissimas hujusmodi tam feralis belli crudelitates quas gentes tue, sicut rerum atra experientia docuit, sitire videntur, ad occurendum imminenti christiane religionis exterminio, prout ex iniuncto nobis divinitus pastorali officio tenemur, predecessorum nostrorum summorum pontificum vestigiis inherentes, qui dum verentur ne necessaria increpationis voce conticescentes velut canes muti non valentes latrare per prophetam redarguantur pro longe levioribus causis contra imperatores et reges etiam predecessores tuos monitionibus et censuris ecclesiasticis acrioribusque aliis remediis processerunt, Te, duces, barones, comites, capitaneos inclitosque tuos, omnesque et singulos qui in Italia tuis stipendiis tibi militant ceterosque tibi adherentes et confederatos ac dantes ad hoc tibi auxilium, consilium vel favorem, quacumque ecclesiastica vel mundana prefulgeant dignitate, prehabita desuper cum prefatis Venerabilibus fratribus nostris s. r. e. cardinalibus matura deliberatione, de eorum consilio, ex parte omnipotentis dei et auctoritate apostolorum petri et pauli ac nra. requirimus et monemus te et alios prefatos in virtute sancte obedientie et sub excommunicationis late sententie ac officiorum beneficiorum necnon bonorum quorumlibet que a nobis et s. r. ecclia. et aliis ecclesiis in feudum et emphiteosim aut quemvis alium titulum recognoscitis digni-

tatumque quarumcumque privatione, penis eo ipso quod non obedieritis incurrendis, ut infra novem dies post presentium literarum intimationem vobis factam quorum tres pro primo, tres pro secundo, tres ultimos pro tertio et peremptorio termino vobis assignamus, Tu et ipsi ab omni offensione et occupatione innovationeque vel continuatione bellorum et guerrarum protinus desistetis, nec quicquam quovis quesito colore amplius contra Italie potentatus hostiliter moliamini vel moliri procuretis, prefatique auxiliatores militantes et quomodocumque consilium et favorem tibi in premissis prestantes absque ulla mora ab hujusmodi prestatione desistant, gentesque tuas et tuorum capitaneorum Ducumque et militum quorumcumque quas contra dictos potentatus paratas habes de eorum territorio removeri et abduci facias, nichil hostile contra ipsos quomodolibet attemptaturus. Et nichilominus si tu et alii prenominati premissis et eorum singulis sicut prefertur cum effectu et realiter non obtemperaveritis, te et prenominatos contradictores inobedientes et mandatis nostris hujusmodi rebelles ultimo et peremptorio requirimus et monemus die XX^{a} post dictos novem dies, ubi Nos cum nostra Romana curia fuerimus, coram nobis compareatis ad videndum et audiendum contra vos omnes et singulos antedictos sententiam incursam censurarum et penarum hujusmodi ex nostrorum mandatorum inobedientia declaratoriam consistorialiter et in sacro consistorio nro. per nos ferri pronunciari et declarari. Simili etiam modo si tu et predicti hujusmodi mandatis nostris ut premittitur non obedieritis te requirimus et monemus ut in eodem XX^{ti} dierum termino peremptorio post dictos novem dies incipiendorum tu quoque coram nobis compareas ad videndum et audiendum per nos in eodem consistorio nostro declarari te penas et censuras incurrisse que singulis annis in die cene domini per nos contra invasores et occupatores locorum terrarum et bonorum s. r. e. ut premisimus publicantur, eo quod predictum regnum nostrum Sicilie citra farum et alias terras ejusdem ro. ecc^{e} notorie violenter invaseris et occupaveris. Quod si forsan rationes aliquas vel causas quare premisse fieri non debeant te forte habere pretendis vel prefati complices consultores et auxiliatores habere pretendunt, compareatis in eodem termino coram nobis ad eas allegandum per vos vel procuratores vestros recepturi a nobis

super eis iusticie complementum. Harum vero censurarum absolutionem imparciendam nobis preterquam in mortis articulo reservamus quibuscumque indultis privilegiis aut concessionibus a nobis vel apostolica Sede vel ejus legatis forsitan obtentis in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus. Non obmittemus iterum maiestatem tuam, fili carissime, ex toto corde nostro in domino exortari et per viscera misericordie dni. nri. Jhesu Christi per aspersionem preciosissimi Sanguinis eius in ara salutiferi crucis in redemptionem nostram effusi per sanctum illud vinculum quod de sacro baptismate iniciatum et inde regalibus infulis coronatum Sancta mater ecclesia sibi astrictum suscepit enixissime obsecrare ut pietatis et spiritum sumas et ea que christiane pacis sunt amplectaris et animum tuum viresque tuas ab ecclesie et filiorum eius offensione contra immanissimos Christi communes hostes paternis monitis nostris obtemperans convertere studeas ut sicut sanctorum petri et pauli apostolorum assidue ad gloriosum deum precibus universos ecclesiastice ditionis turbatores mandatorumque apostolicorum contemptores ad infelicem semper exitum perducere solent, ita ipsorum suffragiis in sancta et necessaria contra infideles expeditione quam tociens tuo verbo regio quasi vovens deo policeri decorum sanctumque putasti in aliis ipsi deo gratiarum actionibus, ab eo benedici juvari et prosperari merearis. Optamus enim ut Carolum illum magnum antecessorem tuum hujus S. apostolice Sedis devotissimum et obsequentissimum, filium ita operibus sicut nomine referas. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum anno incarnationis Dnice. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo quinto Nonis Augusti Pont. nri. anno tertio.

Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 24598 f° 2 ; Vienna, K. u K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch. Cod. K. K. Oester, 1495, 5 August.

DOCUMENT 164.

Pope Alexander VI recommends the duke of Valentinois to King Louis XII.
I. H. S. Maria.

(Alexander pp. VI. Manu propria.)
Carissime in Christo Fili noster salutem et apostolicam bene-

dictionem. Desiderantes omnino tue et nostre satisfacere voluntati destinamus Majestati tue cor nostrum, videlicet dilectum filium ducem Valentinensem, quo nichil carius habemus, ut sit certissimum et carissimum signum nostre in Celsitudinem tuam caritatis, cui ipsum non aliter commendamus, sed eam tantum rogamus : velit eum fidei Regie tue commissum eo modo tractare, ut omnes etiam pro consolatione nostra intelligant illum a Majestate tua in suum omnino acceptum fuisse. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum die XXVIII Septembris.

On the reverse : Ch° Filio nro. Regi Francor. Christianissimo.

Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds fr. Cod. 2929, f° 13, and Molini, Documenti di Storia Italiana, vol. 1, p. 28.

DOCUMENT 165a.

« *Lega Alex. pp. cum Regibus francie et Hyspanie contra turcos et suorum adherentes et complices et omnes volentes turbare Statum Sue S^is^ ac Statum predictorum regum in regno Neapolitano, et divisio regni cum investitura.*

In nomine dmni Amen. Per hoc publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter et sit notum quod anno a nativitate dni 1501 Indictione 4 pontificatus S^mi^ in Chro patris et dni nri dni Alexandri divina providentia pape 6 anno nono die vero 28 mensis junii in presentia prefati S^mi^ dni nostri ac nostrorum notariorum et testium infrascriptorum personaliter constituti Mag^ci^ et insignes viri dns Rogerius de Gramont Seren^mi^ dni Ludovici francorum regis christianissimi et dns franciscus de Rogies Ser^morum^ dominorum Ferdinandi Regis et helisabet regine hyspaniarum catholicorum oratores dixerint et exposuerint prefatos dominos reges suos considerantes in quanto periculo versetur christiana res publica ob immanissimorum turcorum crucis christi hostium conatus ac jacturas et detrimenta quibus diversis in locis christianitatis omnis ab ipsis turcis affecta est, et indies, nisi quam celerius provideatur affici possit compertissimum est, cogitantes etiam quod ad provisionem et expeditionem contra dictos turcos sumendam perutilis in primis et pernecessaria est principum christianorum concordia quemadmodum a

prefato S^mo^ dno nro sepe super hoc admoniti fuerunt, unanimi voto consilio et consensu deliberasse et decrevisse mittere ipsos oratores ad S^m^ d. nrm. prefatum, suamque S^em^ cum omni humilitate ac reverentia instantissime rogare et obsecrare, illique supplicare, dignetur tanquam Romanus Pontifex et Chri. vicarius in terris, ad quem maxime pertinet cura de ovibus suis et ab earum ovili tam truculentos lupos arcere et repellere ac his imminentibus turcorum periculis aliquo presentaneo remedio et expeditione occurrere et obviare. Et cum pro certo dicti Reges sciant intelligentiam quam fredericus de aragonia habet et tenet cum eisdem turcis, ac oratores quos multocies ad ipsos turcos misit, ac turcorum oratores magnis honoribus oblationibus ac muneribus excepit taliter quod ab omnibus notorium est, et certum quod dictus fredericus prefatos turcos hortatus est et induxit non solum ad invadendum dictam christianitatem ex partibus orientalibus, unde anno preterito tot mala et crudelia facinora successerunt, sed ad intrandum in Italiam ad illam pro totis viribus perdendam. Ex quo apparenter et certo teneri potest facile eidem Christianitati magnum malum et inconveniens provenire, nisi celeriter provisio adhibeatur. Ad quam provisionem seu expeditionem tam contra dictos turcos quam eorum adherentes et fautores Reges suos prefatos pro singulari eorum desiderio ac ferventi affectione erga dictam Christianam rem publican dixerunt prefati oratores fore promptos et paratos. Que quidem S^mus^ dns, nr. omnia et singula supradicta mature attendens, ipsisque cum eisdem oratoribus bene ponderatis discussis et examinatis, ac cupiens desuper opportune providere, ac cum iidem oratores in hoc unanimes et concordes nomine prefatorum Regum mutuam intelligentiam ligam et perpetuam confederationem inire, videlicet ipsum S^m^ dnm. nrm., francorum et hyspaniarum Reges prefatos contra et adversus dictos turcos eorumque adherentes complices et fautores, et contra quoscumque alios perturbatores seu perturbare volentes Statum S^tis^ Sue et Sancte Ro. ecclesie aut majestatum Suarum in Regno Neapolitano et ducatibus Calabrie et Apulie, non vi dolo metu aut aliqua machinatione circumventi sed sua spontanea voluntate et non per coercionem, omnibus melioribus via causa et forma quibus magis melius ac validius potuerunt ac debuerunt, Asserentes dicti oratores et quilibet eorum habere ad id specialia et sufficientia mandata, et quatenus ea non sufficiant ipsi

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et quilibet ipsorum presentes sponte de rato et rati habitione pro ipsis regibus promiserunt infra terminum triuni mensium proxime sequentium, S^me^ trinitatis nomine invocato ad honorem suae divinae Majestatis, exterminium desolationem et perniciem ipsorum perfidissimorum turcorum eorumque fautorum complicum et adherentium, ac defensionem propagationem et amplificationem christiane religionis et ad statum eorumdem dni. nri. Sancteque Sedis apostolice ac Ro. ecclesie ipsorumque Ser^orum^ dominorum Regum, inierunt fecerunt et concluserunt, cujus perpetue mutue intelligentie ligue et confederationis prefatam Sanctitatem caput esse voluerunt et nominaverunt, supplicantes prefati oratores nomine dictorum Regum Sue Sanctitati ut pro supportandis oneribus defensionis fidei contra eosdem, quam ambo Reges jam paraverunt dignetur Sua S^tas^ in eodem Regno, in quo uterque ipsorum Regum jus habere pretendit, pro conservando eos in pace et quiete, ipsis Regibus aliquam partem provinciam ducatum sive dominium cum titulo Regio ac ducali respective, salvis juribus investiture censibus et responsionibus Sue S^ti^ et Sedi apostolice debitis, concedere eisque investituram desuper in valida et autentica et consueta forma per literas apostolicas dare et expedire. Qui quidem S^mus^ d. nr. attentis justis et legitimis causis predictis ac rationibus quibus dicti Reges ad predicta petenda adducti fuerunt, ac maximis periculis christiane reipublice ob turcorum apparatus et dictis turcis adherentium ac fautorum insidias iminentibus, post multa ac varia cum dictis oratoribus discussa et examinata, Exigentibus culpis et demeritis ipsius frederici qui omni jure in regno prefato sibi competenti reddidit se indignum, Regnum predictum cum tota terra citra farum in duas partes dividendo, Neapolitanam et Gaietanam civitates cum tota terra laboris et provincia Aprucina ludovico franchie cum titulo Regis, ducatus vero et provincias Calabrie et Apulie cum titulo ducali ac tota eorum terra ferdinando et helisabet hyspaniarum Regibus et Regine prefatis, pro eis suisque liberis recta linea ex suis corporibus respective legitime descendentibus natis et nascituris, Exceptis tamen Civitate Beneventana et illius territorio, concessit et assignavit cum censu annuo aliisque conditionibus modis formis adjectionibus promissionibus clausulis cautelis voluntatibus et ordinationibus in similibus concessionibus apponi solitis et in literis desuper conficiendis contentis. Et ne ullo

unquam tempore inter eos eorumque successores alique dissentiones possint suboriri voluit statuit et ordinavit quod quilibet Regum et Regine predictorum suorumque successorum in parte cum contingente sicut supra divisa plenum dominium ac integram et supremam jurisdictionem habeat, Reservata tamen semper sibi et apostolice Sedi illa que ratione feudi debetur, ac omnes fructus redditus proventus obventiones et emolumenta quecùmque partis eos contingentis et sic ut supra divise habere debeat, Ita tamen quod prefatus Rex francie suique successores medietatem duhane pecudum dicte provincie Apulie de manibus commissariorum eorumdem Regis et Regine hyspaniarum suorumque successorum percipiat annuatim, Ac per Regem et Reginam hyspaniarum suosque successores prefatos quolibet anno statuatur una dies in qua dicta Dohana ad firmam concedi debeat, cui concessioni faciende prefatus francie Rex suique successores, si voluerint, suos commissarios poterunt destinare, qui predicte concessioni si faciende interesse et consentire debeant. Et si forsan contingeret partem unius ex Regibus prefatis majorem annui redditus parte alterius existere, fiat inter eos recompensatio, ita ut ipsi Reges et successores in portionibus reddituum et proventuum predictorum sint equales, ac voluit etiam S^{tas} Sua quod ludovicus Rex Neapolis et hierusalum ferdinandus vero et helisabet prefati eisque in regno terra et ducatibus predictis succedentes duces Calabrie et Apulie de cetero nominentur sicque ab omnibus censeantur habeantur ac reputentur, Ac super his bullam investiture, forma solita nihil additio nihilque remoto quoad substantiam aut intellectum mutet, cum divisionibus predictis, nec non aliam bullam confirmationis nonnullorum capitulorum pacis amicitie et confederationis perpetue inter prefatos francie et hyspaniarum Reges et Reginam initorum concessit, videlicet eorum capitulorum que interesse ipsorum concernunt, in his vero que ad Regnum prefatum pertinent Sua S^{as} confirmat illa in omnibus, salvis tamen et firmis remanentibus sibi et apostolice Sedi jure et jurisdictione debitis et consuetis, et in literis investiture per Suam S^{em} concesse contentis et expressis, prout in dictis bullis in manibus R^{mi} dni. frederici Sci. Theodori diaconi car^{lis} Scti. Severini, quousque veniat ratificatio prefatorum Regum fideliter conservandis depositis, plenius continetur. Qui oratores investituram et censum an-

nuum Sancte Ro. ecclesia videlicet pro investitura quinquaginta millia marcharum Sterlingorum, et pro censu octo millia unciarum (auri), videlicet eorum quilibet dimidiam partem nomine ipsorum Regum realiter et cum effectu integre solvere promiserunt etc... (It is agreed to confide the bull of investiture to cardinal San Severino, who shall return it to the Pope, or deliver it to the ambassadors, at the receipt of the King's ratification of the within league within three months...) Insuper vero prefatus dns. nr. promisit antedictis dnis. oratoribus quo suo nomine recipientibus se perpetuo dictam ligam confederationem et intelligentiam sic initam firmatam et contractam tenere servare et manutenere et in nullo contra facere dicere vel venire quavis occasione vel causa aut quovis quesito colore directe vel indirecte tacite vel expresse eamque quibuscumque modis poterit omni auctoritate apostolica censuris et poenis ecclesiasticis omni quoque animadversione spirituali cunctisque possibilibus adjumentis et auxiliis specialibus persequi et adjuvare, et prefatas Maiestates Regum et Regine eorumque status ut supra jura et jurisdictionem totis viribus adversus quoscumque defendere et tueri, et contra dictos turcos eorumque fautores et complices in eadem liga et confederatione fideliter unanimiter constanter perseverare, ac supradicta omnia integre et cum effectu adimplere, pro quibus omnibus observandis et efficaciter adimplendis S^mus^ dns. nr. etc... dictique oratores respective suorum dictorum Regum nomine et pro eis promiserunt pariformiter et eodem modo prefatam ligam et confederationem perpetuo observare, et in nullo contra facere dicere vel venire quavis occasione vel causa aut quovis quesito colore directe vel indirecte tacite vel expresse, ac S^mum^ d. nrm. Sanctamque Sedem apostolicam et Ro. ecclesiam eorumque statum et regimen jura et jurisdictionem totis viribus adversus quoscumque defendere et tueri, ac contra dictos turcos eorumque fautores et complices. presertim Columnenses et Sabellos, quos Sua S^as^ pro suis rebellibus et prefato frederico Regi adherentibus declaravit nominavit et reputari voluit, et quos Columnenses et Sabellos prefati oratores nomine suorum Regum omnibus viribus persequi et eos in nullis terris dominijs sive locis prefatorum Regum recipere promiserunt, in eadem liga et confederatione fideliter unanimiter et constanter perseverare, ac supradicta omnia integre et cum effectu adimplere, pro quibus observandis

et efficaciter adimplendis S^as^ Sua obligavit se et omnia bona sua et ecclesie et camere apostolice, Et prefati oratores obligarunt se tanquam principales et Majestates suorum Regum ac eorum bona quecumque in ampliori et strictiori forma camerae, cum clausulis in talibus obligationibus apponi solitis. »

Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch. Oesterr. 1501, 28 Juny.

DOCUMENT 165^b^.

Reasons why Frederic was deprived of the kingdom of Naples by pope Alexander VI.

...Cum autem praefatus Fredericus postquam actualem de regno et terra citra pharum investituram per traditionem et assignationem dicti vexilli per tunc nostrum et sedis Apostolicae legatum ad eum propterea destinatum recepisset, et regiam coronam capiti suo impositam de manibus dicti legati suscepisset, juramento fidelitatis debitae juxta formam inferius annotatam et homagio, nec non servitio, vassalagio et ligio per eum in praefati legati manibus praestitis, quae etiam antea per procuratorem suum legitimum in manibus nostris praesti-terat, suae salutis suique status et honoris immemor, Dei timore postposito, erecta cervice in reprobum sensum datus, contra proximum juramentum veniens, nostris et ejusdem Romanae ecclesiae notoriis rebellibus receptum in regno et terra praedictis dare, illisque ac terrarum et locorum ejusdem Romanae ecclesiae notoriis occupatoribus favorem et auxilium praestare, provisiones apostolicas etiam in favorem ejusdem sanctae Romanae ecclesiae Cardinalium factas, illarumque effectum, nec non libertatem ecclesiasticam in nostrum et dictae sedis contemptum multipliciter impedire, ac ad almam urbem victualia deferentibus nova vectigalia imponere, et etiam ne deferrentur prohibere, ac, quod pejus et abhominabilius est, ac Christiano principe omnino indignum, intelligentiam non parvam cum Turcorum tyranno, apud quem continue suos tenet oratores, habere, illique adhaerere, praefatique Turcorum tyranni oratores saepenumero cum maximo honore recipere, illosque penes se retinere, et cum eis conversari, ipsosque perfidissimos Turcos ad invadendum Christianorum terras atque loca, ac Italiam ingredien-

dum hortari et inducere non expaverit, ex quo superiori anno maxima et fere irreparabilia damna universae reipublicae Christianae subsecuta fuerunt, de quibus nobis inexcusabili notorio constitit, propter quod eum jure, si quod ei in dicto regno et terra citra pharum competebat, ipso jure privatum censuimus, prout harum literarum serie censemus....

Ex Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 270, seqq., ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1501. no LIV.

DOCUMENT 166.

Pope Alexander VI pardons Giovanni della Rovere.

Alexander Epus. Servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Consuetam Sedis Apostolicae clementiam erga illos qui post excessum ad Sedem Apostolicam in humilitatis spiritu revertuntur libenter piis affectibus et sincero corde exercemus, ipsisque veniam humiliter deprecantibus, illius exemplo cuius vices in terris gerimus, liberaliter elargimur, ut tanto Sedem ipsam ferventius studeant revereri quo uberiorem illius fuerint clementiam et liberalitatem experti. Dudum siquidem ex certis tunc expressis causis dilectis filiis Praesidentibus et Clericis Camerae apostolicae in vim specialis commissionis nostrae commisimus et mandavimus ut, instante dilecto filio Nicolao de Parma fisci tunc nostri, et camerae prefatae procuratore de certis tunc expressis excessibus et nonnullis aliis per dilectum filium nobilem virum Joannem de Ruvere de Aragonia Almae Urbis Praefectum tunc commissis et perpetratis summarie sine strepitu et figura judicii se diligenter informarent et si eo vocato eundem Joannem talia aut aliquod ex eis quod ad privationem sufficeret perpetrasse cognoscerent cum Prefectura d^ae^ Urbis ac vicariatu civitatis nostrae Senogalliensis et nonnullarum Terrarum, oppidorum, Tenutarum et locorum tunc expressorum quae ab ipsa Romana Ecclesia quovis titulo obtinebat, ac ducatu sorae, privilegiis quoque indultis concessionibus ac immunitatibus ab eadem vel aliis ecclesiis sibi concessis, necnon omnibus dignitatibus et honoribus, ac bonis mobilibus et immobilibus privatum et excommunicatum, anathematizatum et

rebellem ac pro tali declararent et publice denuntiari mandarent. Postmodum vero Praesidentes et Clerici praefati in causa hujusmodi commissionis praefatae vigore servatis servandis procedentes quia de praemissis eis legitime constitit, praefatum Joannem Praefectura, Vicariatu ac Terris, oppidis, tenutis, Ducatu, locis, juribus et aliis praemissis privatum, excommunicatum, anathematizatum, perjurum, rebellionis quoque et laesae majestatis crimine (teneri), et nonnullas alias paenas tunc expressas incurrisse per eorum definitivam sententiam quae nulla provocatione suspensa in rem transiit judicatam declararunt. Nosque deinde d. sententiam per alias nostras literas exequutioni demandari debere sub diversis sententiis censuris et paenis mandavimus prout in sententia et Literis praedictis, quarum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum praesentibus insererentur, haberi volumus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis, plenius continetur. Cum autem praefatus Joannes Praefectus errorem suum recognoscens a nobis veniam de premissis humiliter postulaverit seu fecerit postulari, offerens se de caetero nobis et Sedi praedictae fidelem et devotum futurum, pro parte dicti Joannis Praefecti nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut ipsum adversus sententiam et alia praemissa restituere, reponere et reintegrare, eumque ab omnibus excessibus sententiis censuris et paenis praefatis et crimine laesae Majestatis hujusmodi absolvere, aliasque sibi et statui suo, in praemissis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur attendentes quod praefatae Sedis exuberans clementia cum humilitate petentibus suae pietatis gremium aperire non denegat, eumdem Joannem Praefectum a quibusvis excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et paenis a jure vel ab homine quavis alia quam praemissorum occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existit, ad effectum dumtaxat consequendum harum serie absolventes et absolutum fore censentes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati eumdem Joannem Praefectum ab omnibus excessibus sententiis censuris et paenis praefatis, necnon reatu perjurii etiam laesae Majestatis hujusmodi et etiam ab illis $^{40}_{m}$ ducatis auri et certis aliis muneribus et jocalibus quae nuntiis nostris illa ad nos deferentibus per vim in via publica surripuit et subtraxit auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia tenore presentium absolvimus et totaliter liberamus ac absolutum

et liberatum esse nunciamus, Ipsumque Praefectum in suum pristinum et eum in quo ante sententiam et alia praemissa quomodolibet existebat statum, etiam ad Praefecturam et pristinos honores, famam, privilegia, immunitates, concessiones, indulta et dignitates, civitatem quoque Senogalliensem, terras, oppida, tenutas, loca, jura et bona praedicta restituimus reponimus et plenarie reintegramus absolvimusque omnem inhabilitatis et infamiae maculam sive notam per eum praemissorum occasione contractam, sibique summam pecuniarum et jocalia ac munera sic subtracta hujusmodi liberaliter et gratiose remittimus donamus et elargimur, Decernentes de caetero praefatum Praefectum suosque haeredes et successores praemissorum occasione per nos et successores nostros Romanos Pontifices canonice intrantes seu quoscumque alios etiam Cameram praefatam nullatenus quovis modo molestari posse sive debere, Irritum quoque et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis autem... Datum Romae apud S. Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1499, 14 Calend. Decembris Pontificatus nostri anno 8°.

Rome, Bibli. Barberin., Cod. XXXII, 216, f° 286, and Cod. XXXIII, 129, f° 115.

DOCUMENT 167.

Excommunication of the Orsini and deprivation of their possessions.

Alexander etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Sacri apostolatus ministerio divina dispositione meritis licet imparibus presidentes, sicut humiles et devotos benigno favore complecti et de eorum salute ac quiete cogitare debemus, ita rebelles et inobedientes ac apostolice auctoritatis contemptores presertim Ro. Ecc[e] subditos apostolice ultionis gladio ferire compellimur, ne de eòrum obstinatione letentur et ipsorum temeritatis improbitas aliis subditis transeat in exemplum ac incentivum prebeat delinquendi. Dudum siquidem licet iniquitatis filio et proditionis alumno Virginio Ursino Domicello Romano notum esset quot et quam gravissima mala ex adventu regis francorum armata

manu in Italiam et ex invasione et violenti occupatione Regni Sicilie citra farum, quod est speciale patrimonium beati petri, ac detentione arcis nostre Ostien. provenerant, propter quam occupationem, invasionem et detentionem tam Rex ipse quam omnes fautores adherentes ac sibi consilium auxilium et favorem prestantes gravissimas censuras et penas in literis que singulis annis contra hujusmodi invasores et perturbatores dicti Regni et jurium ejusdem Ro. Ecc[e] in die Cene dni. publicari consueverunt, incurrerant ; ac ipse Virginius qui noster et ejusdem Ro. E. subditus et vasallus erat a prestatione auxilii et favoris contra Regnum predictum abstinere teneretur, et non solum contra jura ipsius Ro.E. quicquam attemptare non debuisset verum etiam eamdem ecclesiam adjuvare eique servire subjectionis jure astringeretur, et secus faciendo, ultra predictas censuras et perjurii reatum, omni feudo et dominio, quod ab ipsa Ro. E. obtinebat, indignum se faceret, et ab eo cadere deberet, Tamen nos volentes secum benigniori officio agere, paterna moti caritate, misimus ad eum dilectum filium Vincentium Electum Cupersan. tunc cubicularium et nuntium nostrum cum pleno ac sufficienti mandato ad eum, nostris et dilectorum filiorum Nobilium virorum Venetiarum et Mediolanensis Ducum, confederatorum nostrorum stipendiis conducendum, hortantes eum ut et pro debito suo et servitio nostro ac Sedis apostolice oblata sibi stipendia et honorificas conditiones acceptare vellet, Et cum corde indurato acceptare recusasset, per plures interpositas personas et condecentia media secum agere, ut eum ad amplectendam viam nostram et stipendia predicta oblata acceptandum adduceremus ; sed ipse quanto magis se rogari cernebat, tanto obstinatiori corde renuebat ; et ulterius, ad convincendum proterviam suam et ne ullo unquam tempore aliquam excusationis materiam exquirere posset, denuo ad eum prefatum Vincentium cum pleno mandato pro sua conducta concludenda atque firmanda destinavimus ; parique modo nuntios suos cum mandatis prefati Venetiarum et Mediolani duces, et eorum nomine sui oratores ad ipsum Virginium miserunt, requirentes et hortantes eum ut pro communi Christianorum benefitio et salute ac quiete totius Italie, ad hujusmodi nostra et eorum communia stipendia conduceretur, ad quod etiam alii nostri et Sanctissime Lige confederati, videlicet carissimi in Christo filii nostri Maximilianus Ro. et ferdinandus reges et

helisabet Regina hispaniarum Illustres per eorum nuntios eumdem Virginium plurimum hortati fuere, Et cum surda aure et protervo animo renueret, malens ejusdem Regis francorum dicti Regni et jurium ejusdem Ecclesie occupatoris stipendiis, quam ecclesiam ejusque jura servire, quam pro defensione ecclesie ad quam tenebatur, oblatis stipendiis, militare, gentes armigeras contra predictum Regnum in terris ejusdem Ro. E. quottidie instruendo et expediendo, in nostrum et ecclesie ac Sedis predictorum contemptum et vilipendium, predictas censuras et penas ac perjurii reatum incurrendo, Nos volentes prout pro conservatione jurium Ro. E. ac Sedis predictarum tenebamur omnibus oportunis remediis providere, Eidem Virginio per nostras in forma brevis literas, sub excommunicationis late sententie ac ecclesiastici interdicti in omnibus terris et locis suis, ac aliis ad que eum et milites suos declinare contingeret, nec non rebellionis et confiscationis omnium bonorum suorum stabilium et mobilium ubicumque existentium, ac privationis omnium feudorum et statuum que ab ipsa Ro. E. obtinebat penis, quas ipso facto incurreret, mandavimus ut nihil contra predictum Regnum directe vel indirecte attemptare nec illud intrare presumeret, neque aliquas gentes armigeras in quibuscumque terris et locis ejusdem Ro. E. facere vel tenere a die intimationis predictarum literarum inantea, immo quoscumque milites et pedites ad sua stipendia sive sub eo militantes infra sex dies a die intimationis hujusmodi computando, quorum duos pro primo, duos pro secundo et reliquos duos dies pro tertio et peremptorio termino ac monitione canonica sibi assignavimus, a predictis terris et locis amovere penitus deberet, et predictis militibus et peditibus sub similibus censuris et penis ac termino et canonica monitione, ut sua stipendia nullatenus reciperent et in Regnum predictum intrarent, et si qui recepissent, restitutis ipsis stipendiis ab eo et sua militia ac obedientia eisdemque terris et locis recederent, et si secus facerent, decrevimus et declaravimus prefatum Virginium et omnes secum et sub eo militantes predictas censuras et penas ipso facto incurrere, Terrasque omnes et loca sue dictionis et alia, ad que eum et milites predictos declinare contingeret, ecclesiastico supposita esse interdicto ; eo casu absolventes et liberantes omnes et singulos subditos suos a quocumque juramento fidelitatis, quo eidem Virginio astricti erant, liberosque et solutos esse etiam

decrevimus et declaravimus omnia quoque bona, terras, appida et dominia sua et militum suorum predictorum Camere apostolice confiscavimus et confiscata esse, et pro rebellibus ejusdem Ro. Ecclesie ipsos eo casu declaravimus, prout in eisdem literis plenius continetur. Cum autem postmodum prefatus Vincentius tunc Nuntius noster, in presentia nuntiorum dictorum confederatorum, prefato Virginio quasdam alias nostras in simili forma brevis literas, quibus eumdem Virginium ad premissa peragenda paterne hortabamur presentaverit, et licet eum tunc et deinde sepius magna cum instantia ut illas reciperet et juxta illarum continentiam et tenorem mandatis nostris prout tenebatur obtemperare deberet, omnibus quibus potuit modis et rationibus requisiverit, ac etiam Nuntii dictorum confederatorum ejusdem Virginii rebellionem et perfidiam videntes, sibi nomine dictorum confederatorum affirmarent quod si mandatis nostris hujusmodi contraveniret, ultra penas predictas in dictis literis nostris contentas, ipsi confederati hostiliter adversus eum statumque suum cum omni eorum conatu insurgerent ; tamen ipse Viginius in sui cordis duritie, pharaonis inherendo vestigiis peramplius perseverans, dei timore postposito, literas predictas recipere recusavit, multaque nephanda et detestabilia, presertim in lesione honoris et dignitatis hujus S^me^ Sedis et apostolice auctoritatis ac fidei nostre contemptum publice proferre non expaverit, significans omnino contra dictum Regnum, speciale ut prediximus patrimonium beati petri, militare, et dicto Regi francorum adherere velle, nec censuras penas et minas hujusmodi formidare, Et deinde cum prefatus Vincentius nuntius tantam iniquitatem et perfidiam videret, curaverit quod dilectus filius Bartholomeus de Miranda cursor noster, qui has nostras monitoriales hujusmodi, ad presentandum illas prefato Virginio presentaret, Et cum dictus cursor illas nomine et mandato nostris sibi presentaret, etiam recipere noluerit, Et cum idem cursor replicaret quod omnino illas recipere deberet, alias ibi in camera in qua dictus Virginius tunc erat dimitteret, Ipseque Virginius insolenti et turbato animo sibi respondisset quod in domo sua non dimitteret, idem cursor videns non sine vite sue periculo dimittere posse, continentiam dictarum literarum eidem Virginio audienti et intelligenti, et in cujus societate iniquitatis filii Johannesjordanus dicti Virginii natus, et paulus etiam Ursinus, ac Bartholomeus de Alviano, sequaces et com-

plices sui, existebant eique in premissis adherebant, clare retulit exposuit et declaravit, significans etiam sibi tantum esse dictam continentiam retulisse, quantum fuisset si ipse Virginius literas predictas recepisset, prout de premissis ex fideli ipsius cursoris relatione in scriptis facta ad plenum legitime constat. Et deinde hiis peractis prefatus Virginius erecta cervice mala malis accumulando et in sua erga nos et ipsam Ro. E. rebellione et obstinatione proterva perseverando, cum prefatis Johannejordano Paulo et Bartholomeo, ac aliis gentibus armigeris personaliter per nostras et ejusdem Ro. E. terras pertransiens ad dictum Regnum adversus Carmum in Chro. filium nostrum ferdinandum ejusdem Regni Regem Illm militando, contra et preter voluntatem ac monitiones et mandata nostra hujusmodi se contulerit, prefatis Gallis adherendo, maximaque et innumerabilia damna dicto Regno intulerit, in grave sue ac sequacium et complicum suorum predictorum animarum periculum, apostolice auctoritatis contemptum et jurium ejusdem Ro. E. detrimentum perniciosumque exemplum et scandalum plurimorum. Nos attendentes premissa que etiam adeo notoria sunt ut nulla possint tergiversatione celari, non esse sub silentio pretereunda Motu proprio, non ad alicujus nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera et matura deliberatione et ex certa scientia, ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine prefatos Virginium, Johannemjordanum, paulum et Bartholomeum, tanquam nostros et ejusdem Ro. E. rebelles, censuras et penas predictas incurrisse, terrasque et loca omnia, que tunc dictionis eorum existebant, ac alia ad que ipsi declinarent dicto interdicto tamdiu supposita, donec sub Virginii suorumque sequacium et complicum predictorum obedientia permanserint, ac ad nostram et ejusdem Ro. E. devotionem cum effectu se reducere et reducti in illa perseverare curaverint, omnesque et singulos subditos suos a quocumque fidelitatis juramento quo Virginio et aliis predictis astricti erant absolutos et liberatos, omniaque bona, terras, oppida et dominia Virginii et aliorum predictorum Camere predicte confiscata et incorporata fuisse et esse, ipsosque omnes pro rebellibus ejusdem Ro. Ecce haberi debuisse et debere, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium sententiando declaramus, proque potiori cautela Virginium Joannemiordanum Paulum et Bartholomeum prefatos omni honore et dignitate omnibusque bonis, terris, oppidis et dominiis que obtinebant,

Motu scientia et potestatis plenitudine et auctoritate similibus omnino privamus, ac illa eidem Camere confiscamus, incorporamus, appropriamus et applicamus, Absolventes etiam de novo subditos suos prefates, ac arcium terrarum oppidorum et locorum predictorum castellanos a quocumque fidelitatis juramento, ac terras oppida et loca predicta eidem supponentes interdicto modo premisso firmiter observando, decernentesque quoslibet qui deinceps Virginio ac sequacibus et complicibus suis prefatis consilium auxilium et favorem quovis modo directe vel indirecte publice vel occulte, prestare presumpserint, etiam si Archiepiscopali, Episcopali, Regali, Reginali, aut quavis alia ecclesiastica vel mundana prefulgeant dignitate, ipso facto sententiis censuris et penis in literis nostris monitorialibus hujusmodi contentis, a quibus etiam non nisi a nobis et successoribus nostris Ro. Pontificibus canonice intrantibus, et debita satisfactione premissa, absolvi possint, subjacere, ac omni honore, dignitate, prelatura, omnibusque dominiis, terris oppidis et bonis eorum ac feudis que ab eadem Ro. et aliis ecclesiis obtinent, omnino privatos et ad ea omnia, ac quoscumque actus legitimos inhabiles, dominiaque, terras oppida feuda et bona hujusmodi etiam eidem Camere confiscata et incorporata esse, et eos qui nostri et ejusdem Ro. E. subditi erunt, pro nostris et ejusdem Ro. E. rebellibus haberi et ita ab omnibus censeri judicari et reputari debere, irritumque et inane si super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Et nihilominus cupientes ut premissa debitum consequantur effectum, subditis prefatis et sub sententiis censuris et penis predictis quas eo ipso si contrafecerint respective incurrere volumus, ut quamprimum presentium notitiam quomodolibet habuerint nobis et successoribus nostris Ro. pontifibus canonice intrantibus fidelitatem et servitia consueta et jura ab eis debita integre exhibere, arcium vero terrarum oppidorum et locorum predictorum castellanis, etiam sub iisdem sententiis censuris et penis, similiter eo ipso si contrafecerint incurrendis, ut omni exceptione cessante, illas nobis seu nunciis nostris ad omnem nostram et nuntiorum predictorum requisitionem statim libere consignare debeant atque procurent, et si forsan, quod absit, animo indurato facere recusarent seu differrent, Dilectis filiis capitaneis et officialibus quibuscumque ac stipendiariis nris. tam equestribus quam pedestribus ad nostra et ejusdem

Ecclesie stipendia militantibus, necnon gubernatoribus et locatenentibus, communitatibus et universitatibus terrarum nostrarum et ejusdem Ro. E. subditisque nostris omnibus, sub indignationis nre. incursu, ut nuntios predictos, ad omnem eorum requisitionem, nostro et dicte Camere apostolice nominibus in corporalem, realem et actualem terrarum oppidorum locorum et bonorum predictorum sic confiscatorum possessionem inducant inductosque manuteneant atque defendant, eisque omni conatu favore et auxilio oportunis assistere non cessent, donec arces terre oppida et loca predicta, sic confiscata, sub nostra et ejusdem Ro. E. plena et debita obedientia fuerint et in illa perseveraverint, in virtute sancte obedientie districte precipiendo injungimus et mandamus. Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis autem... Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo sexto, Kls. Junii. Pont. nri. anno quarto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secr. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 246.

DOCUMENT 168[a].

The Gaetani judicially deprived of their territories.

Alexander etc... Dudum siquidem... et tunc terra nostra Sermoneti ac castrum Bassiani, tenute Nimphae, Normarum Tiverae, Cisternae, Sti felicis et Sti Dominici Terracinen. et Veletran. diaec. Camerae Apostolicae ob lesae Majestatis crimina et alia quamplurima gravissima excessus et delicta per iniquitatis filios Jacobum et Guillelmum de Caetanis, olim terrae castri et tenutarum hujusmodi condominos commissa, quae adeo notoria erant ut nulla possent tergiversatione celari, juxta diversas literas et constitutiones apostolicas confiscate, et deinde per definitivam sententiam per venerabiles fratres nostros Petrum Archiepiscopum Reginensem Almae Urbis nostrae Gubernatorum et Vicecamerarium ac Matheum Episcopum Nucerin. locum unius ex causarum Palatii apostolici Auditoribus de mandato nostro tenentem, judices et commissarios ad id per nos adhibitos Dilectis filiis Julio de Hortiatis dictae

Urbis Senatore et ob ejus absentiam Laurentio de Arianis de Parma ejus locumtenente, legum doctoribus deputatis latam, quae nulla provocatione suspensa in rem transivit judicatam et per nos deinde fuit approbata et confirmata, sic confiscata declarata ac eidem Camerae applicata et incorporata, illorumque possessio per nos apprehensa, ac terra, castrum et tenutae hujusmodi possessa fuissent ita quod ad illorum venditionem per eamdem Cameram poterat deveniri... Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno etc. 1499 (1500) 7° Id. Martii Pontificatus nri anno 8°.

Bibl. Vatic. Ottoboniana, Cod. 2504. P. 2. f° 287.

DOCUMENT 168b.

Attempt of Catherine Sforza to poison pope Alexander VI. — Letter of Pietro Delphini.

Scripsisti mihi ante complures dies delatas fuisse ad Pontificem nomine comitissae (Catherine Sforza) literas veneno infectas, ut contactu illarum necaretur, deprehensum tamen fuisse a prudentibus facinus tentosque latores et confessos scelus, cujus erant conscii, conjectos fuisse in vincula, ut ultimum paulo post de iis supplicium sumeretur. Juste id quidem, qui enim fodit foveam incidit in eam. Sed non fuit satis quod Pontifex in nomine Domini ultus fuerit in eos, qui ministri fuerunt sceleris, nisi etiam novissime diebus istis de authore ipsius severius se vindicasset. Allatus est heri huc nuntius, captam fuisse illam ab exercitu Francorum, qui Pontificis nomine urbem ejus obsederant, venisseque in hostium potestatem : ausa mittere manum in christum Domini, cedere tandem coacta est justo Dei judicio, qui vicarii sui injuriam minime inultam tulit, et licet rari exempli flagitium admiserit, non multum tamen miror, dicente sacro eloquio : Brevis est omnis malitia super malitiam mulierum, etc. Vale. Florentiae, die XV januarii, M. D.

Petri Delphini Epist. Lib. VI. Ep. 22, ap. Raynaldi Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1499. no. XXIV.

DOCUMENT 169.

Cesar de Borgia named papal Vicar of Imola, Forli and San Mauro.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio nobili viro Caesari Borgiae de Francia Duci Valentin. in nostris forlivii et Imolae civitatibus eorumque comitatibus, tenitoriis et districtibus ac castro Sancti Mauri Cesenaten. dioec. pro Nobis et S. R. E. in temporalibus Vicario generali Salutem etc... Cum itaque iniquitatis filii Octavianus, Galeatius, Caesar et Sfortia alias Franciscus fratres et haeredes quondam Hieronimi de Riario, olim in nostris forlivii et Imole civitatibus ac Castro Sancti Mauri Cesenaten diocs, earumque comitalibus tenitoriis et districtibus ac pertinentiarum castris locis et fortalitiis pro prefata ecclesia in temporalibus Vicarii, qui ratione hujusmodi vicariatus civitates communitates tenitoria et districtus castra loca et fortalitia predicta sub obedientia devotione prefatae ecclesiae conservare et manutenere ac ratione forlivii mille et Imolae civitatum ducentos florenos auri de camera, ac castri Sancti Mauri duas taceas argenteas ponderis unciarum sex pro qualibet ratione census camerae apostolicae solvere tenebantur, ac etiam iniquitatis filia Catharina etiam Sfortia eorum mater, tutrix, curatrix et administratrix, nulla subsistente causa tenore et de facto in solutionem dictorum censuum multis annis cessaverint ac in continuata mora notoria et manifesta dictum censum non solvendo fuerint et propterea Ven. fr. nr. Gubernator et Vicarius de consensu in praesentia dilectorum filiorum praesidentium et clericorum, dictae Camerae eosdem Octavianum, Galeatium, Cesarem et Sfortiam alias Franciscum et Catharinam eorum matrem, tutricem curatricem et administratricem, et eorum quemlibet censuras et poenas etiam privationis vicariatuum praedictorum in concessionum feudorum vicariatuum et bonorum quorumcumque ab eadem Romana ecclesia pro tempore factarum ac aliis nostris contra feudatarios Vicarios et censuarios, census per eos debitos non solventes emanatis literis contentas et fulminatas ob illorum non paritionem et non solutionem canonis censuum et jurium tam per ipsum Hieronimum dum in humanis agebat eorum patrem, quam deinde per eos dictae Camerae occasione vicariatus hujusmodi debitorum dam-

nabiliter incidisse et incurrisse, ac civitates hujusmodi cum juribus et pertinentiis suis, illorumque vicariatuum caducitati subjacuisse et subjacere et ad cameram prefatam devolutas fuisse et esse per suam definitivam sententiam declaraverit, eosque omni jure quod eis in illis alias competebat privaverit ab illis amoverit ac amoveri mandaverit literis executiorialibus desuper et in forma solita decretis. Nos praemissa quae adeo notoria sunt et manifesta, ut nulla possint tergiversatione celari, pro jurium ejusdem Romanae ecclesiae conservatione, ut ex debito pastoralis tenente officii debite considerantes, habita super hiis cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris ejusdem S. R. E. cardinalibus deliberatione matura, de illorum unanimi consilio pariter et assensu, sententiam, declarationem privationem et amotionem predictas quarum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum insererentur praesentibus haberi volumus pro expressis et insertis auctoritate apostolica et ex certa nostra scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine tenore praesentium approbamus et confirmamus, ac plenum et perpetue firmitatis robur obtinuisse et obtinere debere decernimus... Vicariatum, regimen, gubernationem, administrationem civitatum terrarum S. Mauri et aliorum castrorum locorum fortalitiorum territoriorum comitatum districtuum et pertinentiarum prefatarum resque et bona hujusmodi in temporalibus tibi pro te tuisque heredibus et successoribus in perpetuum, de similibus consilio scientia potestatis plenitudine et auctoritate concedimus et assignamus... Volentes quoque ac decernentes... quod tu ac heredes et successores tui praelati ratione forlivii et castri S. Mauri octingentos, ad quam summam pro his que ut prefertur in recuperatione et restitutione praefatis id probe gessisti, de similibus consilio scientia auctoritate et potestate reducimus, limitamus et moderamus, et Imolae vicariatum hujusmodi 200 florenos auri de Camera similes boni et justi ponderis, singulis annis in vigilia beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum de hujusmodi introitibus et proventibus, nomine census in Romana ecclesia tuis et eorumdem heredum et successorum tuorum sumptibus periculis et fortuna praedictae solvere teneamini, et antequam in vicariatu hujusmodi te exercere incipias, in manibus nostris fidelitatis debitae solitum praestes juramentum. Tu igitur ex traditis tibi dono coelestis gratiae virtutibus, ac heredes et successores tui praefati circa civitatum terrarum Sancti Mauri et aliorum

castrorum fortalitiorum locorum comitatuum districtuum tenitoriorum et pertinentiarum comitatuum vicariatuum civium incolarum et habitatorum praedictorum regimen prosperum et tranquillum sic sollicite, fideliter et prudenter intendere curetis, quod communitates, universitates cives incolae et habitatores prefati utilibus rectoribus et gubernatoribus providis gaudeant se commissos, tuque et heredes ac successores tui predicti exinde apud Deum et homines valeatis non immerito commendari et nostram praefataeque Sedis benedictionem et gratiam uberius promereri. Nulli ergo etc. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum Anno incarnationis Dominicae 1499 (1500) 7mo idus Martii Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

Ego Alexander † Catholicae Eccae Epus.

Bibl. Vatic. Ottoboniana, Cod. 2504. Pars 2, f° 293.

DOCUMENT 170.

Pope Alexander VI recommends Catherine Sforza to the kindness of the Florentines.

Dilecti filii Salutem et ap. ben. Proficiscitur isthuc dilecta in Ch. filia, nobilis mulier Catherina Sfortia ; quam cum aliquandiu, ut nostis, ex certis rationabilibus causis detineri fecerimus, gratiose postea liberavimus, et quia pro nra. consuetudine et pastorali officio non solum cum eadem Catherina clementia usi sumus, sed quantum cum Deo possumus, ipsius etiam commodis paterna benignitate consulere cupimus, scribendum vobis duximus, ipsam Cathaiinam devotioni vestre non mediocriter commendantes : ut sicut ipsa benevolentia nra summopere freta, istuc tamquam in propriam patriam se recipit, sua spe nris. etiam additis commendationibus non frustretur. Erit igitur nobis gratissimum, si intellexerimus illam pro ejus erga istam civitatem observantia, nro. etiam intuitu benigne a vobis susceptam et tractatam esse. Dat. Rome ap. S. Petr. sub anulo Piscatoris die XIII Julii MCCCCCI. Pont. nri. a. nono.

Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, vol. II, p. 89, from Archiv. Florent. Reform. Atti publici n. 337.

DOCUMENT 171.

The Colonna and the Savelli excommunicated and deprived of their possessions [1].

Alexander Episcopus Servus Servorum dei Ad perpetuam memoriam. Sacri apostolatus ministerio... Dudum siquidem... Prosper et fabritius Columna... quos domnus de Columna, per fe. rə. Bonifacium papam VIII in Constitutione sua in Corpore Juris scripta quasi ficus fatua nuncupata produxit... tempore Sixti pp. IIII, quo ad ejus et ipsius Roman. ecclie, stipendia contra clare memorie ferdinandum... regem... donducti fuerant suaque stipendia... receperant... proditorie agentes... ad castra prefati Regis... tanquam transfuge, cum gentibus suis armigeris, ipsius Sixti predecessoris pecunia persolutis declinarunt, Ac eciam... Alfonsum prefati ferdinandi primogenitum cum grandi exercitu in terris suis per longum tempus receptarunt... qui singulis diebus... Alme Urbis, quam obsessam tenebant, civibus... maxima damna inferre non cessabant, etc. etc.... Quorum occasione prefatus Sixtus contra Columnenses tanquam rebelles bellum gerere cepit, et nisi... insperata morte preventus fuisset, Columnenses... ad totale eorum exterminium deducti fuissent... Postea vero quando... ad apicem summi apostolatus divina favente clementia assumpti fuimus... nunquam, pro rebellionis et quamplura alia mala seminare destiterunt, ac aliquas ex eis a nostra obedientia subtrahere... gentium ccaduнationes, que cavalcate vulgo dici solent, contra... nostros subditos sepissime efficere presumpserunt, in suisque terris... quoscumque nostros rebelles necnon homicidas... et alios malefactores, ab ipsa Urbe et aliis nostris terris, post perpetrata eorum delicta... fugientes... scienter receptare tueri et defendere, interficientes homines etiam in ecclesiis dicte Urbis confovere eosque ad id inducere, Et cum tempore ejusdem Innocentii predecessoris nonnulli perditionis filii in conspectu totius Curie bone memorie Johannem Baptistam Epum Aquilan. tunc prope Palatium Venerabilis fratris Juliani Epi Ostien. habitantem nocturno tempore confractis violenter domus sue hostiis ac

1. This document is so extensive, that we feel obliged to omit whatever is not important.

fenestris scalisque ad illas appositis, proh dolor, ausu diabolico inhumaniter interfecissent, ipsos episcopiscidas sicarios et malefactores etiam in terris suis a dicta Urbe non distantibus etiam scienter tenere et receptare, monetam quoque falsam in eisdem terris suis, ut etiam affirmabatur, cudi et illam ut veram etiam in dicta Urbe exponi facere non formidarunt...

Etiam nostro tempore Arcem nostram Ostien. proditorie fraudibus atque dolis, capto castellano... interfectisque aliquibus ad custodiendam ipsam deputatis, subtrahere et per longum tempus detinere non veriti fuerunt. Et quamvis prefatus Prosper, quem deinde captum in manibus nostris habuimus, nobis qui eum benigne sue restituimus libertati juramento promisisset dictam Arcem statim sine mora restituere, vel si id non faceret, ad nos personaliter redire, tamen liber effectus juramenti prestiti immemor, fide eorum more violata, illam minime restituere nec ad nos redire curavit, Ex quo per dictam arcem victualia Urbi necessaria subtracta, deferentes illa ad ipsam Urbem multipliciter impediti fuerunt, adeo ut... habuerimus de necessitate... arcem predictam obsidere... et ad nostram obedienciam reducere. Et tandem... contra nos subditosque nostros bellum moverunt civitatesque nostras Anagnien... nec non Nucerin. cum plurimorum hominum occisione, ac bonorum etiam pretiosorum ac ad sacros usus deputatorum direptione et depredatione... occupari fecerunt... Et ut... subditorum nostrorum quieti consuleremus, inducti fuimus, nos qui domini eorum eramus, anno superiori cum eisdem de Columna et de Sabellis, subditis et vasallis nostris, pro eis eorumque complicibus, ad inducias ad certum tempus cum maxima hujus sancte sedis auctoritatis et dignitatis ignominia et offensa devenire... Ex quibus omnibus supradictis... quot incendia, cedes hominum terrarum et locorum direptiones, agrorum depopulationes, rapine, sacrilegia, ecclesiasticorum et aliorum sacrorum locorum depredationes, ac alia mala et damna... etiam in civitate nostra Viterbien. quam superioribus annis ipsorum Prosperi et Fabritii complices et sequaces, ac quondam Antonellus etiam de Sabellis... per vim ingressi fuerant... subsecuta fuerunt neminem latere putamus. Quibus omnibus sive aliquibus eorum etiam iniquitatis filii Marcusantonius, Camillus, Mutius, Properetus, Franciscus, Petrus ejus frater, Julius, Octavianus, Pompeius, Petrusfranciscus, ac alii de Columna ; Baptista, Paulus, Troilus, Jacobus, Francis-

cus, Lucas, Ludovicus, Antimnus, Silvius et Marius ejus frater, de Sabellis, ac alii eorum complices... auxilium, consilium et favorem publice prestare... non erubuerunt. Prostremo vero, mittentibus nuper Ludovico francorum Rege ac Rege et Regina Ispaniarum exercitus suos pro Regni Sicilie citra pharum assecutione, quo Regno capto et expugnato, contra perfidissimos Turchos... una nobiscum... intendere proposuerunt... prefato frederico de Aragonia tunc dictum Sicilie Regnum tenenti, ac in illud Turchos ipsos, cum quibus maximam intelligentiam et confederationem continue habebat, introducere volenti adherere, seque de ipsis Turchis etiam in terris suis contra Christianos admittendis et retinendis jactare, eumdemque fredericum sequi non dubitarunt, propter que excommunicationis... sententiam perjurii et sacrilegii reatus ac omnium... feudorum... possessionum, jurium... officiorum, ecclesiarum... et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum... privationis... in talia perpetrantes per diversas Constitutiones apostolica auctoritate... promulgatas, necnon multipliciter rebellionis et lese majestatis crimen dampnabiliter ipso facto incurrerunt...

Nos igitur actendentes premissa et quamplurima alia excessus et delicta per Prosperum, Fabritium, Marcumantonium... de Columna, Baptistam... de Sabellis, ac alios de familiis de Columna et de Sabellis hujusmodi commissa que profecto gravissima sunt... de quibus plenam certam et indubitatam noticiam habemus... nec esse propterea sub silentio pretereunda, ac volentes ut ex debito pastoralis astringimur officii debite providere... cum absque offensa Christi tantas iniquitates amplius tolerare non valeamus... prehabita... cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris ejusdem Roman. ecclie. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura et diligenti..., prefatos Prosperum... de Columna, Baptistam... de Sabellis, aliosque omnes complices ac de familiis de Columna et de Sabellis hujusmodi ecclesiasticos et seculares, quorum nomina... et dignitates etiam Cardinalatus haberi volumus pro sufficienter expressis..., majoris excommunicationis et anathematis sententiam perjurii et sacrilegii reatus rebellionis et lese majestatis crimina damnabiliter incurrisse, omnibusque privilegiis feudis bonis possessionibus, ecclesiis et aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis... eorumque posteros et successores quoscumque de Columna et de Sabellis... imperpetuum privatos.., castraque, opida, terras et bona omnia confiscata fuisse et esse..,

de fratrum predictorum consilio pariter et assensu, ac apostolice potestatis plenitudine ex certa nostra scientia, auctoritate prefata tenore presentium declaramus. Et nichilominus... potiori pro cautela confiscamus, intendentes de terris, castris et bonis omnibus Prosperi... de Columna, Baptisti... de Sabellis, quorum majoris partis possessionem... permittentibus id etiam aliquibus ex Columnensibus et de Sabellis prefatos suos proprios errores recognoscentibus, et etiam nonnullis ex eorum subditis et vasallis ob eorum tirannidem ultro ad nos venientibus seque nobis sponte subjicientibus... apprehendi fecimus et tenemus, sicut viderimus expedire... disponere, Ac decernentes... irritum et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari.

Permittentes tamen et concedentes ex nostra mera gratia et liberalitate Johannem Cardinalem de Columna, quem etiam castris, terris et omnibus temporalibus bonis suis modo premisso privatum declaramus ac privamus, et cum quo mitius pro nostro et hujus Sancte Sedis more agere volumus, in suis cardinalatus dignitate, ecclesiis et beneficiis ecclesiasticis, excepto dumtaxat monasterio Sacri Specus Sublacen... propter magnam temporalitatem quam in nostris et ejusdem Roman. ecclie. terris habere dinoscitur et quod harum serie scientia auctoritate et potestatis plenitudine similibus vacare decernimus, eo in sinceritate fidei, unitate ejusdem Sce. Roman. ecclie. ac obedientia et devotione nostra ac successorum nostrorum Roman. Pontificum canonice intrantium firmiter persistente remanere...

Ut autem presentes litere ad omnium noticiam deducantur, volumus etc. Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Millesimo quingentesimo primo Terciodecimo Kl. Septembr. Pontificatus nri. anno nono.

(Signed by) Ego Alexander Catholice Ecclie Epus. ss.

In te Domine speravi Non confundar in eternum.

Sanctus Petrus	Sanctus Paulus
Alex PP.	ander VI.

(and by twenty-one cardinals.)

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest 871, f° 57.

DOCUMENT 172.

Extracts from the bull of Excommunication and Dispossession of Julius Cesar Varano.

Alexander etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Sacri apostolatus... Sane licet superioribus annis cum iniquitatis filius... Julius Cesar de Varano tunc in civitate nostra Camerinen... in temporalibus gubernator... majoris excommunicationis et privationis gubernii... sententiam dampnabiliter incurisse declaratus... fuisset... Nos deinde speranies eumdem Julium Cesarem se in melius reformaturum... eum a sentenciis predictis absolvimus sibique veniam concessimus. Postmodum vero ipse Julius... gratie et remissionis sibi facte immemor ac juramenti per eum Sedi apostolice in concessione dicti gubernii sibi facta prestiti violator necnon constitutionum provincialum provincie nostre Marchie Anconitan. et litterarum per nos editarum quibus nobis et eidem Romane ecclesie ad vias publicas ac personas per eas in districtu ejusdem Romane ecclesie transeuntes ab crassatoribus et latronibus tutandas et purgandas astringebatur contemptor, rerum experientia edocente, cum arcem terre nostre Gualdi pro nobis... custodiendam etiam iniquitatis filio Philippo de Arcionibus commississemus sperantes quod sicut in dicta camera juramento promiserat illam pro nobis et dicta Romana ecclesia custodiret ac illam custodiendo in illa ab illicitis abstineret, nobisque ad omne mandatum nostrum ut tenebatur libere restitueret, dictus Philippus... in arce predicta falsam monetam cudere plurimosque romipetas captivare bonisque suis spoliare ac mulos ultra triginta pannis et aliis mercimoniis pro Romane curie usu et necessitatibus oneratos... in via publica invadere et rapere presumpsit, et mercimonia bona ipsa ad terras gubernio prefati Julii Cesaris subjectas ac arcem prefatam, prefato Julio Cesare furta et rapinas hmoi. sciente et permittente conducendo. Et licet... eumdem Philippum ut arcem predictam nobis... restitueret districte monuissemus tamen ipse Philippus prefati Julii Cesaris fretus auxilio id facere recusavit multosque homines sic per eum captos interfecit et aliquos laqueo suspendit, que certe facere temptare non presumpsisset nisi prefatus Julius Cesar sibi in premissis auxilium..., prout fecisse compertum est, prestitisset. Ex cum plures ex terra nostra Sancti

Severini Camerinen. dioc. suis exigentibus demeritis exules et banditi effecti fuissent, prefatus Julius Cesar illos ac non nullos alios adversus nostras... terras crassari rapinas et multa alia mala committentes receptare non erubuit, et quod abhominabilius est civitatem nostram Nucerinam ad nos et eamdem Romanam ecclesiam multimodis pertinentem a nonnullis facinorosis hominibus perusin. exititiis et rebellibus nostris aliisque perditissimis latrunculis per fraudem et insidias proh dolor capri diripi et in predam dari, ac cathedralem et alias dicte civitatis ecclesias monasteria et pia loca calicibus crucibus sanctorum venerandis reliquiis aliisque ecclesiasticis jocalibus et ornamentis spoliari, multosque cives... crudelissime interfici, dictamque civitatem per multos menses detineri facere curavit. Et quamvis per nos sepius paterne et etiam sub gravibus censuris et penis etiam privatione dicti gubernii... monitus fuerit, tamen obtemperare recusavit, rebelles nostros... videlicet Columnensium et Sabellorum complices et adherentes... scienter receptavit... Nos igitur attendentes premissa et quamplura alia excessus et delicta per dictum Julium Cesarem qui longo jam tempore, ut dictum gubernium occuparet, inhumaniter in sanguinem suum fremens in necem quondam Rodulphi ejus fratris machinare ut asseritur non expavit commissa, que profecto gravissima sunt et nephanda... de quibus plenam certam et indubitatam notitiam habemus... cum absque gravi offensa Christi tantas iniquitates amplius tolerare non valeamus cogimurque urgente conscientia juste animadvertere in eum, prehabita super premissis... cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris ejusdem Romane ecclesie cardinalibus deliberatione matura... prefatum Julium Cesarem... majoris excommunicationis et anathematis sentenciam, perjurii sacrilegii reatus, rebellionis et lese majestatis crimina dampnabiliter incurrisse... dicto gubernio... dignitatibus terris castris oppidis... juribus quibuscumque... ejus filios... imperpetuum omnini privatos... et bona omnia predicta confiscata fuisse et esse... de fratrum predictorum consilio pariter et assensu ac apostolice potestatis plenitudine et ex certa nostra scientia... tenore presentium declaramus... Ut autem presentes litere ad omnium noticiam deducantur volumus etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quingentesimo primo Kalendis Mart. Pont. nri anno decimo.

Ego Alexander Catholice Ecclie. Epus manu propria subscripsi In te Domine Speravi Non confundar in aeternum.

Sanctus Petrus	Sanctus Paulus
Alex	ander
PP.	VI.

(and signed by fifteen cardinals.)

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI Secretar. An. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 40.

DOCUMENT 173.

The reconciled condottieri receive their pay.

Nov. 17, 1502. Solvit (the papal treasurer.) Ill°. D. duci Romandiole... pro infrascriptis dnis. militantibus ad stipendia s. ro. e. videlicet Julio Orsino pro 100 armigeris ducs. mille similes (de carlenis 12), d. Paulo Ursino ducs. mille pro centum armigeris, vitellozio pro 150 armigeris ducs. MVc, dno. Duci Gravine pro 75 armigeris 250 (for 750) similes.

fl. Vm CCCXII b. 36.

Archiv. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, at the date.

DOCUMENT 174.

Pope Alexander VI commissions Troches to ratify the treaty with his rebel condottieri.

Alexander Papa VI.

Dilecte fili Salutem et Ap. benedictionem. Vidimus capitulationem quam nobis cum tuis literis misisti nuper initam et confirmatam inter dilectum filium nobilem virum Caesarem Borgiam Ducem Romandiolae etc. et dilectum filium Paulum Orsinum nomine aliorum de domo et familia de Ursinis et eorum confoederatorum. Et quoniam quae per ipsum Ducem facta et conclusa sunt recte et bonis respectibus facta fuisse existimanus, volentes illa firma et illibata servari, tibi de cujus fide et prudentia singularem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, tenore praesentium committimus et mandamus, ut dictam capitulatio-

nem, si et postquam illa per dilectum filium nostrum cardinalem de Ursinis ac Pandulphum Petruccium de Senis et Joannem Bentivolum de Bononia nomine aliorum confoederatorum acceptata et ratificata fuerit, tu nostro nomine approbes et confirmes, in quo tibi plenam et liberam concedimus facultatem. Datum Romae apud. S. P. sub annulo Piscatoris die IIII Novembris M D II, Pontificatus nostri anno XI.

Dilecto filio Francisco Trocce Prothonotario et Camerario nostro secr.

Hadrianus.

Machiavelli, Legazione al Duca Val. Opere, vol. V, p. 292, n.

DOCUMENT 175.

Cesar de Borgia describes the Conspiracy of La Magione and the Tragedy of Senigallia.

Magnifici et potentes Domini Amici et tanquam fratres praecipui Salutem.

Superflua cosa saria narrare dal principio la perfida rebellione et atroce tradimento, ad voi et a tucto el mondo notissimo et detestabile, el quale li vostri et loro complici hanno usato con la Santità de nostro Signore et nui : de la quale nonobstante che loro fossero tucti vassalli, et per la magiore parte soldati nostri ben veduti et accarezati come figlioli et fratelli et beneficati cum augmento grande di Stato, niente de meno non hanno alcuno reguardo ne ali predecti meriti di Sua Beatitudine et nostri, ne al proprio honore loro, ma uniti de la superchia ambitione, et obcecati dalla tyrannica cupidità, ce mancarono nel punto del maggiore bisogno, ce voltarono le arme de Sua Santità et nostre contro d'essa medesima et contro de nui ad subversione de li Stati et persone nostre ; et comenzando da nui, ce hanno perturbati li Stati nostri de Urbino, de Camerino et de Monte Feltro, et machinando con ogni extremo sforzo ad alterare tucta la Romagna ; et procedendo tuctavia alla offesa sotto pretextu de reconciliatione, finchè ci viddero remessati in tanta forza de novi exerciti che resistere non ce possevano, et si prava e stata la loro indignità, che ne pure il beneficio della clementia a loro usata de la p^ta^... (prefata Santità) et nui, ne per la instaurata benevolentia nostra cum loro, se sono remossi da le loro prime iniquissime deliberationi

nelle quali perseverano, subito che hebbero intesa la partita de le gente francese tornare verso Lombardia, per lo quale credevano che nui fossimo remasi debilitati et cum gente de poco momento, monstareno privinire da loro medesimi ad ajutare alla impresa nostra de Sinigalia, dove facta mustra del terzo de la fanteria che ce aveano conducta et occultato el resto tra li edificii della terra, aspectareno la nostra venuta cum ordine che de nocte farieno accostare le loro genti di arme et fanterie, le quale tuctavia faceano sopra vinire et allogiare alli conturni, et ad uno medesimo punto per la via della Rocca cum la quale haveano tal intelligentia, mettere quella fanteria nella cipta nuova, in la quale per essere strecta credevano ce allogiariamo cum pocha genta, et cusi a lo improviso opprimerce et dare effecto a li loro primi propositi ; il che nui chiaramente presentito, cum ordine et prestezza li preocupamo in modo che ad uno tracto havemo facto pregioni il Duca de Gravina, Paulo Ursino, Vitelotio da Castello et Liverotto da Fermo, et scoperti, svaligiati et oppresse le loro fanterie et gente a cavallo occulte et palese : per le qual cose il Castellano, vedendo le predicte machinazioni represse, se consegnò subito quella Rocca liberamente. Le cose predecte havemo facte costrecti de la necessità in nela quale ce hanno conducti li predicti ; et per imponere fin alla infinita perfidia et iniquità deli predicti et de li loro complici, et cusi reprimere la loro imensa ambizione et rabbiosa cupidità, veramente publica peste di tucti li popoli d'Italia; cum li quali justa cagione hanno le vostre Magnificenze de rallegrarse summamente. Ad deliberatione dele qual et dela quale Magnificentia vostra consta de comandamento dela predicta Santità ce conferimo cum questo exercito per sublevarvi dela rapace et sanguinolenta tyrannia de la quale gia piu tempo sete oppresi, et redurve a la libera et salubre obedientia dela Santità prefata et de la Sede Apostolica, sotto observato de li vostri soliti privilegi. Per la qual cosa, exhortamovi et come Confaloniere et Capitano de la Santità et Sede prefata, comettemovi et comandamovi debbiate alla receputa de quista da voi removere qualunche altro jugo, et mandare alla prefata Santità ambaxiatori, per li quali li se presti la debita et piena obedientia : adfinchè non facendo, noi siamo astrecti reducervi per forza a cusi debito ufficio : del che ce recresceria per li gravi inconvenienti che ne risulterieno a tutto quello

popolo, al quale sempre dala pueritia avemo portata et portamo benevolentia singulare.

Dat. Corinald. die 2 Jan. 1503.

Cesare Borgia de Francia, Dux Romandiolae Valentiaeque, Princeps Hadriae et Venafri, D. Plumbini ac S. R. E. Gonfalonerius et Capitaneus generalis.

Agapytus.

(A tergo) : Magnificis Dominis Prioribus, Consiliis, Officialibus, et Commun. Civit. Perus. amicis tamquam fratribus nostris carissimis.

Gio. Battista Vermiglioli, La Vita di Malatesta IV. Baglioni, Docum., p. III, from IV. Registro dei Brevi f° 148ter nella Cancellaria del Comune di Perugia.

DOCUMENT 175a.

Machiavelli reports the Second Conspiracy of the Orsini, Oliverotto Uffreducci and Vitello Vitelli against Cesar de Borgia.

Magnifici Domini. Poiche le Signorie vostre non hanno avute tutte le mie lettere, per le quali si sarebbe compreso in buona parte il successo delle cose di Sinigaglia mi è parso scrivere per questa ogni particolare, avendo massime commodità ad farlo per avere riposato sopra la magnificenza dello oratore tutte le cose che al presente si trattano qua, e credo che vi sarà grato per la qualità della cosa che è in vero rara e memorabile.

Aveva questo Signore presentito dopo la partita che é Franzesi feciono da Cesena, come questi suoi inimici riconciliati, cercavano sott' ombra de acquistare Sinigaglia in suo nome, porli le mani addosso e assicurarsi di lui ; giudicando possere sotto colore di tale impresa, ragunare le loro forze insieme, pensando che alla Eccellenza del Duca non fussi rimasta tanta gente quanta era ; e per questo essere più facili i loro disegni. Donde questo Signore pensò di prevenirli, e permesse lora la impresa di Sinigaglia e attese ad nascondere le forze sue per farli venire più volentieri e con maggior animo : e cosi quando loro si mossero per ire ad Sinigaglia, lui si partì da Cesena, e quindi arrivò ad Pesaro, vennono nuove, Sinigaglia essere occupata da li Orsini per tenersi per il Duca, da la cittadella in

fuora ; e sollicitavano sua Eccellenza ad farsi avanti con le genti e artiglierie per espugnare la fortezza. El Duca per mantenerli su la opinione avvevano di posserlo ingannare, aveva nel cammino da lui fatto da Cesena ad Fano, fatto venire in modo spezate le sue genti, che nessuno le aveva possuto numerare nè intendere a di presso la quantità loro...

Machiavelli, Edit. of 1875, in Florence, t. IV, p. 254, ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 630.

DOCUMENT 176.

Cesar de Borgia announces the capture of his enemies in Senigallia.

Isabella al Marchese di Mantova suo marito, da Mantova, Jan. 10, 1503.

...Per una sua de' 3 me scrise... che lo Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Romagna se congratulava cum il Signor Zoane Bentivoglio, suo socero, de la presa haveva facto in Sinigaglia de le persone del Signor Paulo Ursino, Vitelozo, il Duca di Gravina et Livorato de Fermo, cum justificare tale captura : che, non obstante la aperta et notoria rebellione per loro facta ali di passati contra la Santità de N. S. et sua Ex., et la remissione factagli, di novo havendo intesa la partita de le giente francese ritornate a li alogiamenti suoi, sotto specie de ajuto a la impresa de Sinegaglia, cum tutto il loro potere erano venuti per pigliare sua Excellentia ; il che da lei inteso, gli haveva prevenuti, et facto a lor quello volevano fare a lei...

Archivio Stor. Ital. Ser. I, Append. vol. II, p. 263.

DOCUMENT 177.

Letter of Isabella, marchioness of Mantua to Cesar de Borgia.

15 Januar, 1503.

Dno. Duci Valentie.

Ill^me^ etc. De li felici progressi de V. Ex. quali cum una amorevole lra ce ha significati, ne havemo preso quello piacere et contento che si conveniene a la mutua amicitia et benivolentia

che è fra lei et lo Illmo s. nro. consorte et nuy, et cossi in nome suo et nro. ne congratulamo seco de omne secureza et prosperita sua et ringraciomola de la participatione et offerta ce ha facta di tenerni avisati de li successi...

Gregorovius, Lucrezia Borgia, Bd. II, p. 132. From « Archiv. Gonzaga in Mantua ».

DOCUMENT 178.

King Louis XII on the tragedy of Senigallia.

Roma, 19 gennaio 1503.

...Alla qual (the doge of Venice) etiam significo ozi essere qui lettere del Christianissimo Re al Pontefice, che son responsive allo aviso per lui dato a Sua Maestà de la retenzione del cardinale Orsino e di altri, e decapitazione de Vitellozzo et Oliverotto ; el qual scrive allegrandosi con la Santità Soa di questa preda fatta e punizione data a questi rebelli, laudandolo che abbi data debita penitenza a questi, poichè avevano machinato novo tradimento, maxime contra la persona del signor Duca...

Villari, Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian, vol. I, p. 346.

DOCUMENT 179.

Cesar de Borgia orders papal cities to procure pioneers.

Caesar Borgia de Francia Dei gratia Dux Romandiolae Valentiaeque, Princeps Hadriae et Venafri, Dominus Plumbini etc. ac S. R. E. Confalonerius et Capitaneus Generalis. A tutti e singoli officiali, Città, Popoli e persone di qualsivoglia Città, Terra e Loco, mediate et immediate alla Santità di Nostro Signore et ad Nos subiecti, alle quali perverra notitia delle presente, commettemo e commandamo, che all' Esibitore di Essa, nostro Commissario deputato ad elegere e condurre in Campo per lo bisogno et uso de nostre artiglierie tutti guastatori necessarii debbano circa questo effetto prestarli piena obbedienza, provederlo di quel numero d'essi guastatori, che da lui saranno ricercati essere espediente ; nè ardischino senza dilatione far

lo contrario sotto pena de incorrere quelle pene che ad Esso parera contra renitenti prefigere, all' esecutione delle quali faremo immediatamente procedere, oltreche incorreranno la disgratia della prefata Santità et nostra.

Datum Viterbii in Castris Pontificiis XII Februarii (1503).

Ducatus vero nostri Romandiolae II.

Cesar Agapytus

Bussi, Istoria di Viterbo, Docum. XLIV.

DOCUMENT 180.

Cesar de Borgia, duke of Romagna, beloved.

Quocumque aufugias Cæsar Dux Inclytus instat,
Cæsar ubique manet : Cæsar Dominator ubique.
Syderibus tutus, Fatis et tutus amicis —
Pontifice adjutus, Gallorum atque impetu magno,
Nullus eum æquabit, sua nec regalia gesta
Cæsaris imperium nostri Ducis ecce per omnem
Italiam jamjam colitur, procedit, amatur —
Non alium volumus dominum, nec quærimus.
Nos quam Cæsarem, jubar hoc Regumque Ducumque.
Omnipotens preces nostras exaudiat omnes,
Cæsar in æternum vivat Dux Borgia semper !

Archiv. of Fano, Lib. Reform., vol. A. 1501-1503, apud Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII. S. 470, n.

DOCUMENT 181ª.

Mandates for the payment of the new University of Rome.

Alexander P. P. VI. Motu proprio etc. Cum nostrae intentionis sit, ut Domus Studii almae Urbis nostrae reparentur et augeantur, commodiores quoque et aptiores fiant nostris praesertim temporibus, et propterea ordinaverimus ut Domus ipsae quantocius aedificentur, praesentium tenore Dilectis Filiis Camerario et Thesaurario nostris committimus et mandamus ut de pecuniis Gabellae vini ad minutum dicti Studii, et per manus

Gabrielis Fusarii dictae Gabellae et pecuniarum Depositarii, solvi faciatis Dilectis filiis dicti Studii Rectori et modernis Reformatoribus, Summam Mille Ducatorum de Carlenis decem pro Ducato, pro aedificio Domorum hujusmodi, et juxta ordinationem desuper factam exponendos ; quos autem Ducatos mille sic solutos, solvendos et receptos in computis dicti Depositarii Gabellae et Camerae admitti mandamus. Quam quidem summam in una tertiaria lectoribus in dicto Studio ordinatam et solvendam computari mandamus. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque

Dat. Romae apud S. Petrum die 17 mensis Decembris 1497 Anno Sexto.

Placet et ita (Motu) proprio mandamus. R.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Diver. Cam. Lib. III, f° 35v°. Armar. 29, no 52.

DOCUMENT 181b.

Alexander P. P. Sextus. Motu proprio Dilecto Filio Raphaeli S. Georgii ad velum aureum Diacono Cardinali Camerario et Ven. Fratri Francisco Episcopo Thean. Generali Thesaurario nostris, tenore praesentium mandamus ut de pecuniis Gabellae vini forensis ad Studium almae Urbis spectantibus per manus dilecti filii Gabrielis de fusariis, ipsarum pecuniarum Depositarii, solvi faciatis Dilectis filiis Sancto et Andreae Florentinis, architectis et muratoriis fabricae dicti Studii Ducatos mille de Carlenis decem pro quolibet ducato, pro dicta fabrica, et hoc ad ordinationem Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Petri Archiepiscopi Regin. dictae Urbis Gubernatoris et Nicolai Nolan. praefati Studii Rectoris et Lucovici Caputa quen. Secretarii nostri, Episcoporum commissariorum super dicta fabrica deputatorum ; scripturas desuper necessarias expediri faciatis et ad computum ipsius Depositarii admittatis, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Dat. Romae apud scum. petrum die XV. Novembr. MCCCCLXXXXVIII A° Sept°.

Placet et ita mandamus. R.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Lib. III, fo 127, Armar. 29, no 52.

DOCUMENT 181c.

Raphael etc... Solvatis — Similiter Mgro. Andree et Mro. Sancto, architectis Studii alme Urbis plures... pro dicto Studio..

Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1500, f° 115.

DOCUMENT 181d.

R(aphael) Sancti Georgii Diac. Cardlis SS. dni. pp. Camo, Spectabili viro Gabrieli fusario Gabell. Studii deprio etc. Auctoritate etc. Solvatis Gubernatori et Rectori Studii Alme Urbis duc. quadringentos de K. X., pro aumentatione et reparatione ipsius Studii, quos etc. Dat. in Camera aplica. III Novembr. MDII. Pont. Alex. pp. Sexti anno XImo.

Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1500-1513, f° 92.

DOCUMENT 182.

Annual amount of the University tax or of the licenses to sell wine in Rome.

Spectabilibus viris heredibus Ambrosii de Spanochiis gabelle Studii Alme Urbis conductoribus. Auctoritate etc. Per presentes mandamus quatenus de pecuniis istius gabelle penes vos existentibus solvatis dno. Gabrieli Fusario dicti Studii depositario' floren. Quatuordecimmilia moneta Roman. pro emptione dicte gabelle unius anni incepti die XVa Novembr. MDI et finiti XV Novembr. MDII. Quos etc. Dat. Rome in camera apca XII Jan. MDIII Pont. d. Alex. pp. Sixti ano XImo, fl. $\frac{\text{XIIII}}{\text{m}}$

L. Amerinus.

DOCUMENT 183.

A payment for silver book locks.

Dicta die (June 26, 1495) solvit similiter prefatus dns. thesaurarius flor. auri de camera quatuordecim, per mandatum factum die XXII Maii Angelino auri fabro prc valore quatuor serarum argenti pro certis libris pro Smo Dno. nro. pp. flor. 17.36.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 527, f° 194vo.

DOCUMENT 184.

Foundation and endowment of the University of Alcala de Henares.

Alexander etc. Venerabili fratri francisco archiepiscopo Tholetan. Salt. et apostolicam benedictionem. Quoniam per litterarum studia christifideles bonis moribus virtutibusque ornantur et quodam rore celico respersi sapiencie et intellectus spiritum nanciscuntur et prestant postmodum cunctis spem sanioris concilii, Dignum existimamus nos votis illis benigne annuere et oportuna subvencionis auxilia impendere per que christifideles hmoi. laudabilibus Studiis commodius insistere possint. Dudum siquidem fraternitati tue in opido de Alcala de henares tue diocesis ad mensam archiepiscopalem Tholetan. pertinen. unum Collegium pro decenti scolarum numero de quo tibi videbitur, in quo theologie juris canonici ac Arcium facultates legi possent ac in eo et facultatibus predictis aliquas Cathedras in numero per te ordinando, alias ad instar Collegii scolarum in civitate Salamanticen. per bone memorie Didacum archiepiscopum Hispalen. olim fundati, auctoritate apostolica erigendi ac quecumque statuta et ordinationes honesta et sacris canonibus non contraria super illud ac illius lectores et scolares pro tempore exsistentes concernencia edendi et ordinandi plenam et liberam licentiam et facultatem concessimus prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continetur. Cum autem sicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte tua peticio continebat, tu pro edificiis et dote collegii hujusmodi ac unius capelle in eo etiam construende et libris ac aliis inibi necessariis gravissimas expensas subire debeas et pro sustentatione legentium scolarium et capellanorum in eo pro tempore existencium multi redditus necessaria sint ; et si aliqua prestimonia seu prestimoniales portiones aut simplicia beneficia in civitate Toletan. aut diocesi predicta consistencia eidem collegio ac illius lectoribus scolaribus et capellanis predictis in eorum necessitatibus non parum consuleretur... — The petition is granted — Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum anno etc. Millesimo quingentesimo primo, Octavo Cal. Decembris Pontificatus nri. Anno Decimo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. I. ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 259.

DOCUMENT 185.

Payment of two chains for the apostolic palace.

Die I mensis Julii dicti anni (1503) R^dus in Christo Pater Dns Ventura Ep^us Massanus solvit pro S^mo D^no Domino Alexandro divina providentia PPa VI et de mandato Sue S^tis, Magro Montino fabro ferrario pro precio librarum quadringentarum trium ferri laborati pro duabus inferriatis positis in Palatio ap^co in andito ante aulam familiarium Ducis Valentini noviter instauratam, et pro portatura earumdem ferriatarum. Duc. 9, bl. 44-1/2.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus vol. 532. An addition of a few pages from the account books of the Pope's private treasury, at the date.

DOCUMENT 186.

Restoration of the castle of Sant' Angelo.

Dicta die, 13 Nov. 1493, Rev. in Ch^ro pater dns. Franciscus de Borgia, Prothon. Aplicus. S. D. N. Alexandri pp. VI Thesaurarius generalis, solvit similiter duc. ducentos quadraginta tres et bol. LVIII de carl. X pro ducato, pro mandato facto die 1. presentis, R^mo dno. Epo. Agrigentino, Castellano S^ti Angeli, pro diversis expensis per eum factis in reparationem et bonificationem dicti castelli. fl. CCLIIII. 15.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 525, f° 136^vo.

DOCUMENT 187.

First payment for the moat of the castle of Sant' Angelo.

Dicte die (Dec. 15^th, 1494) solvit similiter prefatus dominus thesaurarius ducatorum centum auri de camera, per mandatum factum presenti die, dno, bartholomeo de luna cubicolario S^mi dni. nri. ad solvendum guastatoribus ad faciendum fossum in castro Sancti Angeli.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 527, f° CLVIII.

DOCUMENT 188.

Payment of the new buildings of the castle of Sant' Angelo.

Die ultima ejusdem (Mensis Martii, 1495) solvit similiter prefatus dns. thesaurarius florenorum auri de Camera quatuormilia, per mandatum factum die XIII presentis, S^mo^ dno. nro. dno. Alexandro pp. VI quos voluit pro fabrica castri Sancti Angeli.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527 at the date.

DOCUMENT 189.

Compensation for buildings demolished around the castle of Sant' Angelo.

Raphael, Camerarius S^mi^ dni. R^do^ pri. francisco de Borgia, proton. Aplico. s. d. n. ppe. Thesaurario Generali Salt... Similiter solvatis Michelangelo Mancino de Urbe Duc. Sexaginta de K. x. pro ducato pro parte recompense domorum suarum pro re arcis Scti. Angeli. Dat. die VII Martii 1498.

The same day Mich. Mancino receives another check for fifty ducats, on another « Dohanna », for the same cause.

Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1500, f^is^ 89, 103.

DOCUMENT 190.

Ventura, Bishop of Massa, private treasurer of the Pope, pays to himself moneys advanced for the Pontiff.

Ponit ad exitum suum dictus E^pus^ pro totidem per eum in diversis vicibus expositis et solutis diversis Magris. muratoribus scarpelinis fabris, videlicet a die XI Octobris 1502 usque in presentem diem XVII mensis Augusti 1503, pro diversis laboreriis in castro S^ti^ Angeli factis videlicet pro quinque puteis ad conservandum triticum et quinque cameris subterraneis ad detinendum captivos, et pro amatonato platee supra mola dicti

castri versus S^tam^ Mariam de populo et pro cisterna videlicet lapidibus marmoreis in dicta platea pro bucca dicte cisterne positis, et aliis diversis expensis in dicta dicto tempore occursis, prout de omnibus particularitatibus potest videri computus in libro expensarum dicti castri, et quitancias illorum qui hujusmodi pecunias receperunt. Constituunt auri de Camera ducatos septingentos nonaginta tres et carlenos decem.

Duc. 793, bl. 75.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532. Additamentum. At the date.

DOCUMENT 191.

Expropriation of mills at the Sixtine bridge.

Raphael... Solvatis dno. Nicolao Calvo, custodi hospitalis Meliaducis Januen. de Urbe flor. XXXII cum dimidio de Camera, pro recompensa medietatis molendini demoliti pro reparatione pontis Sixti, juxta tenorem literarum patentium desuper expeditarum, pro preterito anno 1492. Quos etc. Datum XV Martii 1493.

...Solvatis Julio Paloni, civi Romano, flor. XXXII-1/2 de K. X. pro flor. pro recompensa molendini demoliti ut supra, pro presenti anno MCCCCLXXXXIII°. Dat. die prima aprilis ejusdem anni 1493.

...Solvatis Paulo de brancha, fabricatori hospitalis Sce. Marie in porticu de Urbe, flor. XXXII-1/2 de K. X. p. flor. pro recompensa molendini ut supra, pro presenti anno MCCCCLXXXXIII. Quos. etc. Dat. etc. die prima Aprilis ejusdem anni 1493 [1].

A similar order of payment is made in favor of Julio Paloni and of Nicolas Calvo, for the year 1494, 1495 and 1496.

...Solvatis Cole Sacoccie, Romano, flor. XXXII-1/2 de Carl. X pro duc., pro recompensa molendini demoliti in refectione pontis Sixti, pro pres. anno. Dat. 20 Martii (1494) [2].

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1. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1500, f° 95.

2. Ibid., f° 96.

...Solvatis Nofrio Palini... singulis annis pro recompensa cuiusdam sui molendini diruti pro hedificatione pontis Sixti — pro presenti anno. Dat. die XV aprilis, 1496 [3].

DOCUMENT 192.

Payments for the Fountain on St. Peter's square.

Sept. 3, 1501. Solvit Alberto de Plancentia architectori S. D. N. pro parte Mile ducatorum similium (i. e. de carlen. 10 pro ducato) pro fonte in platea S. Petri existente fl. 104.12 [1].

Nov. 6, 1501. Bartholo Florentino aurifici pro parte solutionis magisterii duorum boum et unius insignii seu arme S. D. N. ad fontem in platea S^ti Petri. fl. 26.3 [2].

Solvatis Magistro Alberto de placentia architecto S. D. N. flor. trededim de K. X. pro duc. solvendis scarpolinis qui fecerunt arma S. D. N. ad fontem plate Sci. Petri. Dat. die 23 Nov. 1501 [3].

...Magro. Alberto de Placentia Duc. Ducentos de K. X. pro Duc. Ultra quos dictos ducentos duc. habuit Duc. similes Mille in diversis partitis pro parte solutionis pro opere per eum facto in diversis locis pro conducendo aquam ad fontem in platea Scti. petri et pro quadam matonata circa dictum fontem per eum facta. Dat. die XXIII Decembr. 1501 [4].

...Magistris Danesio et Petro Dominico de Viterbo S. D. N. pro judicando et inspiciendo opere Magri. Alberti de Placentia per eum facto circa fontem in platea Sci. Petri existente, pro eorum expensis factis in commorando hic in urbe cum duobus equis per quatuordecim dies Duc viginti de K. X. pro duc. Dat. die XXIII Decembr. 1501 [5].

Solvi faciatis Magro Alberto de Placentia architecto qui confecit fontem Platee Scti Petri flor. viginti pro totidem quos retinuistis in sommam Mille Duc. de K. X. solutorum pro opere dicti fontis et qui promissi fuerunt pro hmoi. opere absque retentione. Dat. Die XX Jan. 1502, A° Decimo [6].

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3. Ibid., f° 98vo.
1. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitroitus. Vol. 532. At the date.
2. Ibid. At the date.
3. Rome, Arch. di Stato, Mandati 1501-1503, f° 79vo.
4. Ibid., f° 83vo.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., f° 93vo.

Solvi faciatis Magro Johanni Pintore lapidicino duc. quindecim de K. X. pro duc. pro duobus Bobus lapideis inauratis positis supra fontem in platea Sci. Petri ac pro duobus insignis S. D. N. ex metallo positis in decorem dicti fontis... Die XXVIII Jan. 1502 [7].

...Magro Bartho Florentin. duc viginti quinque de K.X. pro duc. pro parte solutionis sui operis duorum boum factorum supra fontem in platea Sci Petri qui emittunt aquam in fontem... Die VIIII Febr. 1502 A° 10° [8].

There were several more « Exitus » for the fountain on St. Peter's place, about this time, again :

Johanni Pantera lapidicino pro duobus bobus inauratis quos confecit supra fontem Sti petri fl. 15.14 Febr. 12, 1502. So also... [9]

...Solvi faciatis Magro barthleo florentin. duc. XL^ta de carl. X pro duc. pro duobus bobus, una flamma et duobus insigniis S. D. N. ex metallo confectis et inauratis positis supra fontem platee. Qui sunt pro residuo dicti operis. Die 19 Martii A° 10°. (1502) [10].

...Solvi faciatis Magro gabrieli de Mediolan., Magro gett. et Magro. Petro Senen. Scalpell. pro uno vase marmoreo cum duabus manicis ex metallo et duabus insigniis S. D. N. cum uno capite inaurato et pro uno lapide cum duabus parvis columnis et cum aliis artificiis, pro fonte in platea S^ti petri, pro residuo totius summe dicti artificii, duc. auri de Camera tringinta... Die VIII Aprilis 1502 [11].

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7. Ibid., f° 100.
8. Ibid.
9. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 532. At the date.
10. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1501-1503, f° 106vo.
11. Ibid., f° 112.

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